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AE ARAMAS

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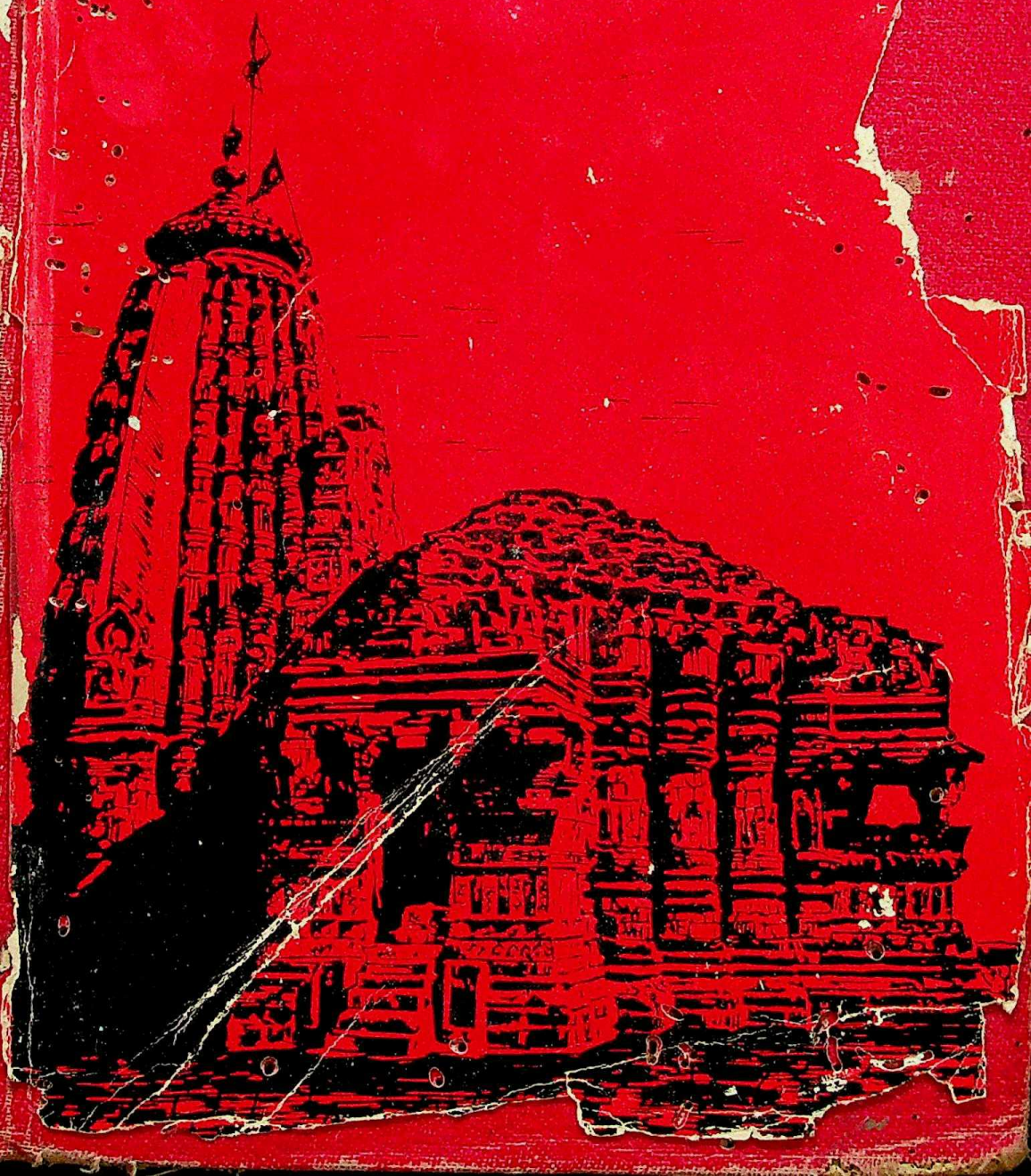

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THE PARAMĀRAS

(*c.* 800—1305 A.D.)

A study in the political and cultural
history of their kingdoms

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THE PARAMARAS

(*c.* 800—1305 A.D.)

SHALINI GUPTA

by
PRATIPAL BHATIA

411 10

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To
the memory of
my
Mother

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PREFACE

THE HISTORY OF the Paramāras has, in the past, attracted attention of a number of scholars interested in the history of northern India during the early medieval period. Thus, sections on the history of the Paramāras were included in the *History of Medieval Hindu India* by C.V. Vaidya, *Rājpūtāne kā Itihāsa* by G.H. Ojha and *Dynastic History of Northern India* by H.C. Ray. King Bhoja of the Paramāra family received special treatment at the hands of P.T.S. Aiyyangar and B.N. Reu who made him the subject of their study in their works entitled *Bhoja-Rāja* and *Rāja-Bhoja* (Hindi) respectively. The studies of these scholars were carried further in the form of a monograph entitled the *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* by D.C. Ganguly. None of these works, however, are exhaustive as they concentrate on the political history of the Paramāras. The works of P.T.S. Aiyyangar and B.N. Reu are very limited in nature for they deal with the history of only one Paramāra king, though of course the most important one. The social, economic and cultural conditions under the Paramāras, though generally admired by the historians, have not yet received a proper treatment in the sense that no systematic and detailed study of the subject has been conducted so far.

A number of new inscriptions of the Paramāras and their contemporary rulers as well as some literary works composed during the Paramāra period have come to light after the publication of the above mentioned works. Recent researches in the history of the dynasties who ruled contemporaneously with the Paramāras have also shed new light on some aspects of their history, specially their inter-state relations. It was therefore felt that a fresh study of the history of the Paramāras along with their administration, religion, social and economic condi-

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tions, literature and artistic achievements was necessary. It was with this object that I began to work on this subject which has proved fascinating and absorbing. The writing of this book has been a very pleasant task.

The first three chapters of this work are introductory in nature. They provide the necessary background—geographical and political—to the subject. The question of the origin and original home of the Paramāras has been re-examined. The political history of the Paramāras of Malwa in its successive phases has been dealt with in chapters IV-X, followed by the history of the Paramāra dynasties of Arbudamaṇḍala, Vāgaḍa, Bhinmāl-Kirāḍū and of Jalor in chapter XI. The causes of the decline of the Paramāra power are discussed in chapter XII. Chapters XII-XVI deal with administration, religion, social and economic conditions and literature, architecture and arts in the Paramāra dominions. These chapters are by no means exhaustive. Information on some very crucial points is inadequate and far from satisfactory. On some other points such as literature and architecture the evidence is far too much to be managed in a single chapter. Therefore only a brief survey of literature, architecture and arts has been attempted in order to give to the reader a complete picture of life as it was lived in those days.

To make for easier reading some of the discussions on doubtful points have been relegated either to foot-notes or appendices. The system of transliteration would be clear from the table. For current proper names ordinary spellings have been followed, and diacritical marks have been omitted in the case of the well-known river and place names. Some familiar place names of the old princely states such as Sirohi, Jodhpur, Jaswantpur, Bikaner, Duṅgarpur and Bānswārā have been retained.

The history of the Paramāras has been reconstructed here with the help of all the available sources— epigraphic, literary and archaeological. However for the political history the inscriptions of the Paramāras have been the primary and the most useful source of information. Practically all the inscriptions are dated and they contain some very important details. The inscriptional evidence has been corroborated and supplemented, wherever possible, by information supplied by literary works like the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta, *Pārijātamañjarī*

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of Madana and Sulhaṇa's commentary on the *Vṛttaratnākara*. Literary works produced in the neighbouring kingdoms also shed plenty of light on the history of the Paramāras. Among these one could mention the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* of Hemachandra, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, *Kīrttikaumudī* of Someśvara, *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara, *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* of Bilhaṇa, *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayānaka, *Pṛthvīrājarāso* of Chand Bardai, *Hammīramadamardana* of Jayasiṁha Sūri, *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayachandra Sūri and so on. For administration, religion, society, economic conditions, literature and arts, the basic source of information has been the vast amount of literature produced in Malwa and the adjoining regions during this period. Among these the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, *Yuktikalpataru* and *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* of Bhojadeva have proved extremely useful. They contain interesting information on king, court, feudatories, military organisation, dress, social customs and manners, trade and commerce, various industries, furniture, painting and architecture. The *Pramāṇamañjarī* of poet Malla gives unique information on secular architecture. Besides, *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara, *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva, *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Harisena, *Samarāichchhakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri and *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* of Siddhṛṣi Sūri, produced in the kingdoms adjacent to Malwa, have yielded important bits of information. The *Dravyaparīkṣā* of Ṭhakkura Pheru is our only source for the Paramāra coinage. Unfortunately we have not found a single coin of the Paramāra period to verify information supplied by the *Dravyaparīkṣā*. The information gleaned from literature has been supplemented by epigraphic evidence, whenever available. We have also pressed into service English translations of the Persian and Arabic historical accounts.

I do not claim originality for everything said in this book. My indebtedness to all previous writers on the subject has been duly acknowledged and wherever I have differed I have given my reasons. Judgements on numerous disputed points have been attempted after carefully balancing all lines of evidence, and they have been held tentative when the evidence is weak or insufficient.

The present work substantially represents my thesis which was approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the

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University of Delhi in 1963. I worked on this topic under the encouragement and critical but sympathetic supervision of Prof. Dasharatha Sharma, and I take this opportunity to pay my due respects and sincere thanks to him. I am grateful to Prof. Bisheshwar Prasad who read the entire manuscript and made some useful suggestions. I am indeed grateful to all the scholars who have, either through discussion or through correspondence, helped in clarifying doubtful points and supplied me with the information required. My thanks are due to the staff, in particular Shri Bhagavat Sahai, of the Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi, where I received most of my material. I also thank the staff of the National Archives of India, National Museum, New Delhi, Delhi University Library and various other libraries and departments for providing me with the research facilities. I am grateful to Shri Jesuram of the Maps Section of the Archaeological Survey of India for preparing the maps which are included in this book. For illustrations my acknowledgements are due to the Archaeological Survey of India, National Museum, New Delhi and the British Museum, London. I am extremely grateful to my father who helped me in various ways in the preparation of this work.

Lastly I wish to thank Messers Munshiram Manoharlal, Oriental Publishers of New Delhi, for undertaking publication. I am particularly grateful to Shri Devendra Jain for taking personal interest in the publication of this book.

Due to some unforeseen circumstances there has been considerable delay in the publication of this book which was first sent to the publishers in 1965. I have not, therefore, been able to incorporate any relevant material published thereafter.

I crave the indulgence of the readers for certain misprints and broken types which have crept in spite of our best efforts.

Delhi PRATIPAL BHATIA

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA—*Āin-i-Akbarī* by Abul Fazl.
AAR—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Tod.
ABORI—*Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*
App—Appendix.
AR—*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times* by A.S. Altekar.
ARE—*Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy.*
ARIE—*Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy.*
ARRM—*Annual Report of Rajputana Museum.*
ASI—*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.*
ASR (Cunn.)—*Archaeological Survey Reports* by Sir A. Cunningham.
ASWI—*Archaeological Survey of Western India, Annual Reports.*
Atri—*Atri Saṁhitā.*
Avanti—*Avantikhaṇḍa* of *Skanda Purāṇa.*
BI—Bibliothica Indica, Calcutta.
BKI—*Bombay Karnātak Inscriptions.*
BG—*Bombay Gazetteer.*
BSOASL—*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
BSVM—*Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Minor Religious Systems* by R.G. Bhandarkar.
Chap.—Chapter
CHI—*Cambridge History of India.*
CII—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
CITD—*A Corpus of Inscriptions in Telingana Districts of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions* (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 13).
CP—Copper Plate.
DSP—*Sanskrit Poetics* by S.K. De.
DHNI—*Dynastic History of Northern India* by H.C. Ray.
DP—*Dravya-parīkṣā* by Ṭhakkura Pheru.

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DV—Dvyāśrayamahākāvya by Hemachandra.
EC—Epigraphia Carnatica.
HIED—History of India as told by its own Historians, trans. by H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson.
Ed.—Edited.
EHI—Early History of India by V.A. Smith.
EI—Epigraphia Indica.
ERE—Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
fn.—foot-note.
GG—Glory that was Gurjaradeśa by K.M. Munshi.
GHP—History of the Paramāra Dynasty by D.C. Ganguly.
GOS—Gaekwad Oriental Series.
HB—History of Bengal by R.C. Majumdar.
HIP—History of Indian Philosophy by S. Radhakrishnan.
HMHI—History of Medieval Hindu India by C.V. Vaidya.
HMK—Hammīramahākāvya of Nayachandra Sūri.
HMM—Hammīramadamardana of Jayasiṁha Sūri.
HT—The Hindu Temple by Stella Kramrisch.
KHDh—History of Dharmaśāstra by P.V. Kane.
IA—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IC—Indian Culture, Calcutta.
IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
Ins.—Inscription.
Intro.—Introduction.
JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta,
JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JDL—Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
JIH—Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
JISOA—Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.
JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Banaras.
JOI—Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
JOR—Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JP—Jñānapaṁchamīkathā by Maheśvara Sūri.
JPASB—Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JSI—Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa by Nathulal Premi.

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JUB—*Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
KA—Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.
KBCh—*Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-charita*.
KK—*Kīrttikaumudī* by Someśvara.
Liṅga—*Liṅga Purāṇa*.
Mbh—*Mahābhārata*.
Mānaso—*Mānasollāsa* by Somadeva.
MDJGM—*Manikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamala*.
Medha on Manu—Medhatithi's commentary on *Manu-Smṛti*.
MK—*Mahākumāra*.
MS—*Manu Smṛti*.
MSI—*Studies in Indology* by V.V. Mirashi.
Nāg-Pra-Pat—*Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, Banaras.
NC—*Navasāhasāṅkacharita* by Padmagupta.
NII—*List of North Indian Inscriptions* by D.R. Bhandarkar.
NVA—*Nītivākyāmṛta* by Somadeva.
PAIOC—*Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*.
Pc—*Prabandhachintāmaṇi* by Merutuṅga.
Pch—*Prabhāvakacharita* by Prabhāchandra.
PGP—*History of the Gurjara Pratīhāras* by B.N. Puri.
PIHC—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*.
PJLM—*Prāchīna Jaina Lekhamālā*.
PK—*Prabandhakośa* by Rājaśekhara.
PKG—Genealogy of the Chauhāns given at the end of the *Prabandhakośa*.
PM—*Pramāṇamañjarī* of Malla.
P-M-P—*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*.
PO—*Poona Orientalist*.
PRAS, WC—*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*.
Prāśara—*Prāśara-dharma-saṁhitā* or *Prāśara Smṛti*.
PV—*Pṛthvīrājavijaya* by Jayānaka.
PWMI—*Prince of Wales Museum Stone Inscription*.
QRHS—*Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta.
RBS—Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* by V. Raghvan.
Raj—*Rājadharmakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara.
RKI—*Rājpūtāne-kā-Itihāsa* by G.H. Ojha.
RKJBKGS—*Rājasthān ke Jaina Bhandāron kī Grantha Sūchi*.
RT—*Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa.
Sachau—Alberūnī's *Kitāb-ul-Hind*, ed. and tr. by E.C. Sachau.

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SCNI—*Śaiva Cults in Northern India* by V.S. Pathak.
SE—*The Struggle for Empire.*
SEH VI—*Social and Economic History of Northern India* by B.P. Majumdar.
SI—Stone Inscription.
SII—*South Indian Inscriptions.*
SILS—*Studies in Indian Literary History* by P.K. Gode.
Sk—*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* by Bhojadeva.
SK—*Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana* by Arisiṁha.
Skanda—*Skanda Purāṇa.*
SMK—*Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* by Bhojadeva.
SP—*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* by Bhojadeva.
SRKI—*Sirohī Rājya kā Itihāsa* by G.H. Ojha.
SS—*Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* by Bhojadeva.
TA—*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* by Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad.
TF—*Tarīkh-i-Firishta.*
THK—*History of Kanauj* by R.S. Tripathi.
TM—*Tilakamañjarī* by Dhanapāla.
TN—*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhāj-ud-dīn Sirāj.
TP—*Tattvaprakāśa* by Bhojadeva.
Upamiti—*Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* by Siddharṣi Sūri.
UR—*Uttara-Rāmacharita* by Bhavabhūti.
Vayu—*Vāyu Purāṇa.*
Vyava—*Vyavahārakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara.
Vch—*Vikramāṅkadevacharita* by Bilhaṇa.
VV—*Vasantavilāsa* by Bālachandra Sūri.
Yājña—*Yājñavalkya Smṛti.*
YEHD—*The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. by G. Yazdani.
Yukti—*Yuktikalpataru* by Bhojadeva.

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

अ=a	ट्=ṭ
आ=ā	ठ्=ṭh
इ=i	ड्=ḍ
ई=ī	ढ्=ḍh
उ=u	ण्=ṇ
ऊ=ū	त्=t
ऋ=ṛ	थ्=th
ॠ=ṛi	द्=d
ऌ=ḷ	ध्=dh
ए=e	न्=n
ऐ=ai	प्=p
ओ=o	फ्=ph
औ=au	ब्=b
ं =ṁ	भ्=bh
ः =ḥ	म्=m
क्=k	य्=y
ख्=kh	र्=r
ग्=g	ल्=l
घ्=gh	व्=v
ङ्=ṅ	श्=ś
च्=ch	ष्=ṣ
छ्=chh	स्=s
ज्=j	ह=h
झ्=jh	क्ष्=kṣ
ञ्=ñ	ज्ञ्=jñ

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Fig. 17. Durgā, National Museum, New Delhi.

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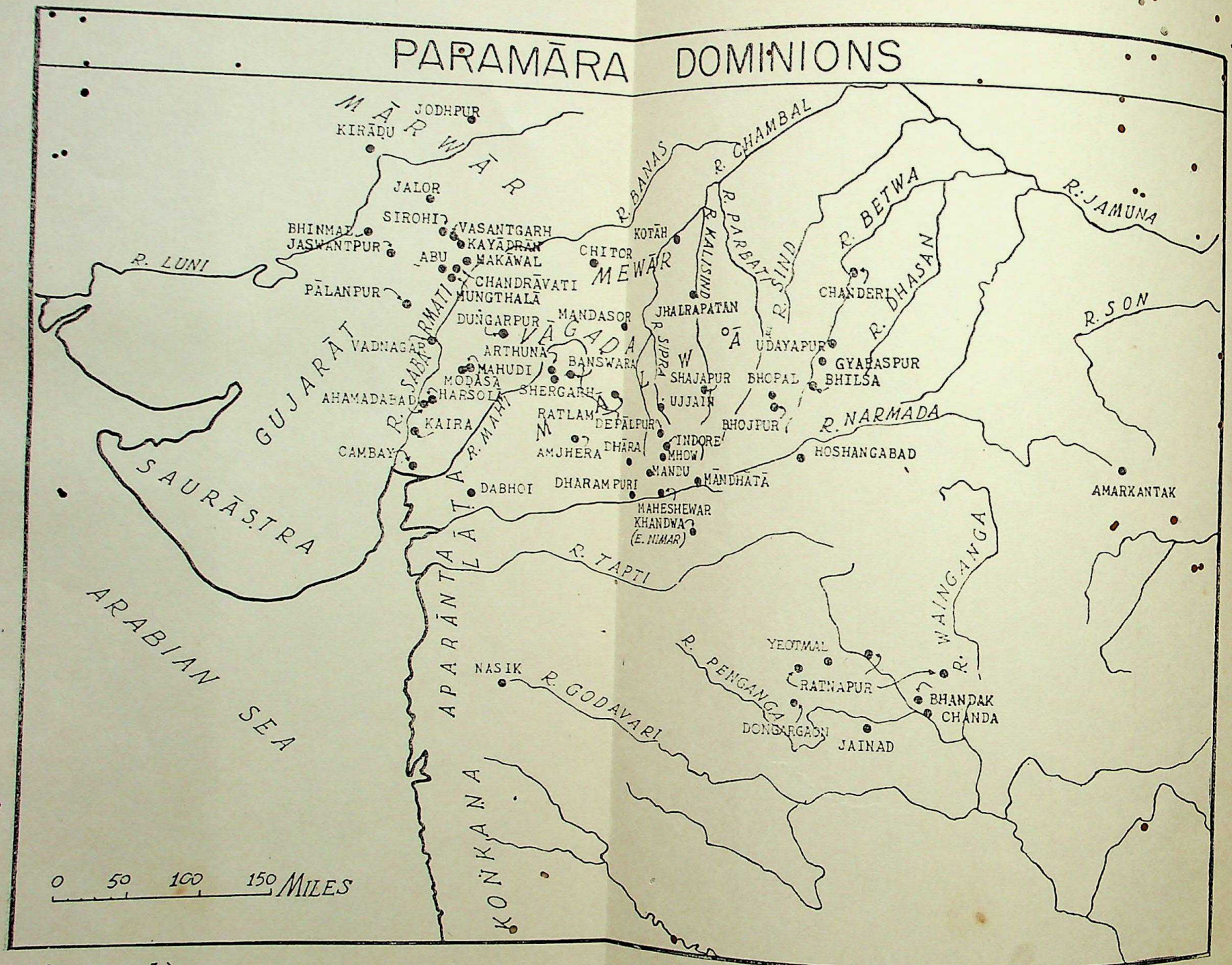

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CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE PARAMĀRA DOMINIONS

DURING THE course of nearly five hundred years of their political existence, the Paramāras ruled over many territories, which besides Malwa proper included the important adjacent districts of Bhilsa in the east, Ratlam in the west, Indore and parts of Hoshangabad in the south-east. Some other branches of the Paramāras held sway over Arbudamaṇḍala, Marumaṇḍala, Jalor and Vāgaḍa. We present here a few broad facts about the physical features and geographical setting of these territories, which may help in the understanding of the history and culture under the Paramāras.

The territory ruled over by the Paramāras of Malwa which included Malwa proper as well as the adjoining districts, may be divided into the following natural divisions :

(i) The Central Malwa Plateau (Rajgadh, Ujjain, Shajapur, Dewas, Indore, Ratlam and Dhar districts).

(ii) The North-Eastern Plateau (Bhilsa district falling in line with the Bhopal territory).

(iii) The North-Western Plateau (Mandsore and part of Ratlam district).

(iv) The Narmada Valley (Nimar, parts of Hoshangabad, Dhar, Indore and Dewas districts).

Malwa forms a great triangle, based on the Vindhyan Hills. Broadly speaking it is a plateau, with an altitude of between 1500 and 2000 feet above sea level lying between 23° 30′ and 24° 30′ N. and 74° 30′ and 78° 10′ E., which is terminated on the south by the great Vindhyan range, on the east by one of its arms that strikes north from Bhopal to Chanderi (the Kulāchala Parvata of the Purāṇas), on the west by the branch which reaches from Amjhera to Chitor (in Rajasthan) and on the north by the Mukandwāra range which runs east from Chitor to Chanderi.[1]

1 *Imperial Gazetteer*, (C.I. Agency), p. 121.

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Physically it may be described as a high table land, consisting of a gently undulating inclined plain, in general open and highly cultivated, varied with small conical and table-crowned hills and low ridges, watered by numerous rivers and small streams, and favoured with a rich and highly productive soil and a mild climate, conducive alike to the health of man and the liberal supply of his wants and luxuries.[1]

The river system of Malwa is interesting. The country is watered by several rivers, which are fed by numerous tributaries that intersect and fertilize the state in every direction. Amongst the principal rivers we may enumerate the Chambal, Kālī Sind, Śiprā, Pārbatī, Betwā, Mahi and the Narmada, which runs nearly east to west, and a few streams which run into it.[2] The Chambal, Ken and Betwā rise within 20 miles of the Narmada and appear as consequents on the Mesozoic surface, superimposed on the scraps : the Chambal, in particular, cuts straight across them, with subsequent tributaries on the softer shales. The Chambal and its tributaries Kālī Sind and Pārbatī have formed a triangular alluvial basin at about 700-900 feet in Kotah, above the narrow trough of the lower Chambal ; which gullying along their banks suggests slight recent rejuvenation.[3]

The temperature of Malwa is in general mild, excepting during the later part of the year, when great and sudden changes often take place, and the climate on the whole is pleasant and invigorating. The seasons are those common to western India and may be chiefly distinguished as the rainy, cold and the hot.[4]

The soil of Malwa, though generally of little depth is celebrated for its fertility. It mostly consists of either a loose rich black loam, or a more compact ferruginous mould, according to the basaltic rock from whose decomposition it has been principally derived. To this was added the facility of artificial irrigation by the Paramāra rulers who are known to have constructed a number of tanks and dams in the country.[5] With

[1] *Report on the Province of Malwa and Adjoining Districts, submitted to the Supreme Government of British India in 1822,* by Maj. Gen. Sir John Malcolm, Agent of the Governor-General.

[2] *Imperial Gazetteer,* XXVI, Atlas (1909), Plate 38.

[3] Spate, O.H.K., *India and Pakistan,* p. 575.

[4] See above fn. 1.

[5] *Vide infra* Chaps. XV and XVI.

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a rainfall of 25-35" of a fairly high variability, millets—mainly *Jowār*—are of course dominant, with cotton a strong second on the moisture-retaining black soils of the lavas.[1] Other principal crops are wheat, gram and pulses. Rice is grown in small quantities for internal use. Sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, linseed, til, garlic, turmeric and ginger are also produced. Indigo is raised in small quantity.[2] Fruits are said to have been formerly in great abundance and perfection, and Abul Fazl mentions the luxuriance which the vine attained in Malwa.[3] There are in Malwa and the adjoining districts many forests, several of which in the lower tracts to westward abound in fine timber, particularly the teak.

The north-eastern plateau is a narrow out-stretch of the great central plateau of Malwa made distinctive by the wooded ranges of the Vindhyas encircling it from the east, north and south. With the fertile plateau of Malwa proper easily accessible towards the west, and with its proximity to the fertile Gangetic plains of the east, the region about Bhilsa was always prosperous and flourishing, a fact which is amply reflected in the richness of its monuments.[4]

The north-western plateau projects into the country of the war-like Rajputs, full of hills and standy tracts. It presents some aspects in common with the adjoining areas. The physical features of this region differ a little from the main plateau of Malwa in that the tract here is hilly and rugged, giving its people the characteristics required for a military profession and affording facilities for erecting edifices in stone.

The low-lying narrow valley of the greater river Narmada, enclosed by the ranges of the Vindhyas and Satpura to the north and the south respectively, is said to contain hidden under the surface some of the earliest remains of civilization in India. The country is flat and fertile and cultivation here appears more wide-spread and flourishing. Along the Vindhyan Hills the country becomes wilder ; woodland (with teak) predominates, but is very open in many places with almost more glade than

[1] Spate, *op. cit.*, pp. 575-76.

[2] For details regarding the products see Chap. XV, Sect. Economic Condition.

[3] *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 72 ; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[4] Patil, D. R., *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bhārat*, p. 5.

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trees. The climate however is not as inviting as that of the plateau in the north. Within its limits on the banks of the river there once stood the famous township of Mahiṣmati, which was undoubtedly one of the most ancient cities of India. That town and probably its later representative, the modern Maheshwar, had acquired importance both culturally and politically, and this importance has continued up to recent times.

The principal towns and cities of Malwa during our period were Ujjain, the sacred place of the Mahākāla and the city of the so-called Vikramādityas ; Dhārā, the Kularājadhānī of the Paramāras ; Bhilsa, the town of the god Bhaillasvāmin ; Bhojapura, Shergarh, Udaipur, Depalpur and Māṇḍavagarh or Mandu.

The territory of Arbudamaṇḍala, ruled over by another branch of the Paramāras, was of great strategic importance. It is difficult to give the exact boundaries of the Paramāra kingdom of Abu, which included the erstwhile state of Sirohi and perhaps some parts of Palanpur, Jodhpur, and Jaswantpur districts. At one time their sway extended as far as Bhinmāl and Jālor in Marwar which were held by the junior branches of this family.[1]

The country is much broken up by hills and rocky ranges, of which the main feature is the almost isolated mountain of Abu, the highest peak of which, Gurū Śikhara, rises 5,650 feet above sea level.[2] It is situated near the southern border and is separated by a narrow pass from an adjacent range of lower hills. The area to the west of it is comparatively open and level, and consequently more populous and better cultivated than the other. The region on its two sides, being situated at the foot of this central range of hills is intersected by numerous watercourses (*nālās*), which swell into torrents of greater or less volume in the rainy season but remain dry during the rest of the year. The Arāvalli hills form a wall on the east, and between them and Abu-Sirohi range, is a narrow valley (from 1,000 to 1,200 feet above the sea), through which now runs the main line of the Western Railway and through which Gujarat appears to have been invaded more than once. The lower slopes of the Arāvallis are clothed with fairly dense forests and the country generally is dotted with low rocky hills which, as a rule, are

1 *Vide infra* Chap. XI.

2 *Rajputana Gazetteer* III-A, p. 229.

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thickly covered with jungles, consisting chiefly of the *dhāo* tree mixed with *khair*, *babūl* etc.[1]

The only river of importance, in this territory, is Banās (western) which, rising behind the present town of Sirohi, flows for ten miles in south-eastern direction as far as Jhārolī, (near Piṇḍwārā), continues its course for another forty miles or so through the valley between Mt. Abu and the Arāvallis till it enters Palanpur territory, a little below the village Māwal, and eventually loses itself in the sand at the head of the Rann of Kutch. Within Sirohi limits it is not perennial and dries up in winter. Its tributaries are the two branches of Śuklī, the eastern and western, both of which uniting under the name of Śipu, continue in south-eastern direction till they fall into the western Banās near Chhota Rānpur in Palanpur state. Of other rivers in Sirohi, Jawai flows only eight miles in Sirohi and Śukrī flows about twelve miles in this state.[2]

A branch of the Paramāras of western Rajasthan ruled at Bhinmāl with their headquarters at Kirāḍū, which is in Jaswantpur district, situated in 25° N. and 72° 16′ E., about 105 miles south-west of Jodhpur city and 50 miles north-west of Abu Road station[3] on the Western Railway. The old name of the place was Śrīmāla or Bhillamāla (the Pi-lo-mi-lo of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang).

Another branch of this family appears to have established itself in Jalor and adjacent territory. Jalor is situated close to the left bank of a river, which is here called the Śukrī but is higher up known as the Jawai, in 25° 21′ N. and 72° 37′ E., about 75 miles south of Jodhpur.[4] On a hill to the south and entirely commanding the town, stands the fort, one of the most famous in Rajputana. Built by the Paramāras, its walls composed of huge masses of cut-stone, it remains even now in a perfect state of preservation, although the place has been besieged many times.[5]

Yet another branch of the Paramāras ruled over the country of Vāgaḍa, comprising the hilly tracts of Mewar and

1 *Rajputana Gazetteer* III-A, p. 230
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 191.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
5 *Ibid.*

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the former states of Bānswārā and Ḍūṅgarpur, extending along longitude 73° 22′ to 75° 00′ E. and latitude 23° 20′ to 23° 55′ N. This is the land *par excellence* of the Bhīls who, practising shifting cultivation, like to build their scattered huts upon hillocks and burn the scrub jungle for cultivation in the rains.[1] In the valleys the soil is rich. The climate is moderate with an average rainfall of 30″ to 50″. The forests are dense towards the northern part of the country and are full of *ḍhāk*, *babūl*, *kair*, *tendū*, cacti and teak trees together with several other varieties of shrubs. In summer the jungles are generally leafless, but during and after the rains, luxuriant and varied vegetation, and the graceful outline of the numerous hills, form scenes of great beauty.

Mahi is the principal river of the country which it enters from Ratlam to the south-east. Then running north and intersecting the north-east portion of Bānswārā, it turns to the west and again to the south and then flows into Ḍūṅgarpur, forming the boundary between Bānswārā, Mewar and Ḍūṅgarpur. Its tributary in Ḍūṅgarpur is Som, which meets it near the sacred temple of Bāneśvara, where a large fair is held every year. Bānswārā area is more fertile than Ḍūṅgarpur which is very stony. The western portion of Bānswārā is chiefly inhabited by a settled population of Brāhmaṇas and *patels* of the cultivating classes.[2]

Historically, Malwa displays a curious duality. As the Deccan lavas provide the only really extensive agricultural base in Central India, they invest Malwa with a certain individuality; yet as a land of passage, it had not unoften to change its masters.[3]

This fact of its history may be explained by two factors. In the first place, the frontiers of Malwa being the least persistent as compared to those of its neighbouring regions, it provides by far the best route from Northern India to the Deccan and so has been regarded as a prized possession by all the political powers of Northern India and the Deccan.[4] In peace, as in

[1] *Proceedings of the Indian Science Congress*, 1938, The Presidential Address of the Geography Section, p. 123.

[2] *Rajputana Gazetteer* III-A, pp. 101-02, 273; *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 407; XI, p. 370.

[3] See 1931 *Census*, XX, pt. F, p. 3.

[4] Spate, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

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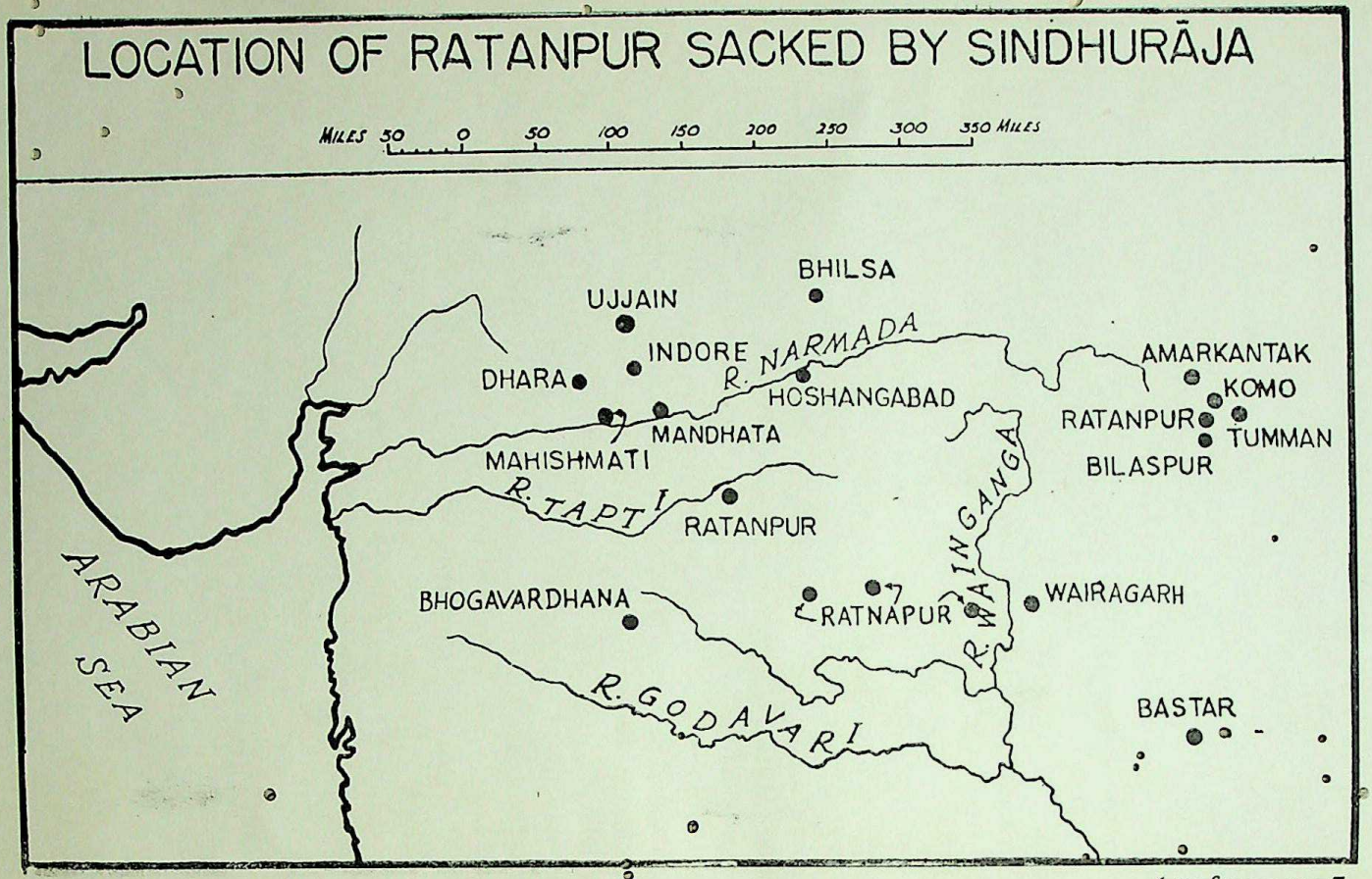

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war, the Malwa route was one of the most significant in India ; both in the ancient and medieval times. It led from the Cambay sea-port of Barygaza (Broach) or Surat to Ujjain and passing by Bhilsa, with its great Buddhist monuments, to Pāṭaliputra, later to Agra and Delhi. With the coming of the railway and the concentration of so much of India's trade in Bombay, the actual lines of movement have shifted, but they remain within this broad zone.

Secondly, the fertility of the area attracted outsiders. It is a common saying that Malwa has such a good climate and soil that people never leave it, on the contrary outsiders from all quarters try to settle there.[1] That the Paramāras could, in spite of these tendencies inherent in the geography of Malwa, rule over it for nearly 500 years, speaks much for their political achievement and capacity as great administrators.

The Abu territory played an important role in the history of our period due to its strategic location. The route which goes from Malwa to Gujarat, passes through this part of the country. Hence during our period both the Paramāras who ruled in Malwa and the Chaulukyas who ruled in Gujarat, were keen to control this area. It was on the foot of Mt. Abu that most of the battles between the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas were fought. Again, it was on the foot of Mt. Abu that many a time the passage of the incoming Muslims was blocked and they were stopped from moving further into Gujarat, by the Chaulukyas and their feudatories. Besides strategic importance, Abu territory was well-known for its beautiful natural scenery. It also assumed importance, during our period, for being a great centre of religious activity, both of the Hindus as well as the Jainas. Placed as it is between Malwa on one side and Gujarat on the other, Abu territory was influenced equally by the cultures of both the states, the impact of which can be noticed on its architecture and sculpture during the period under our study.

[1] Mayer, Adrian C., *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, p. 11.

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CHAPTER II

THE ORIGIN OF THE PARAMĀRAS

BEFORE WE proceed to deal with the history of the Paramāras, political as well as cultural, it may be useful and interesting to know something about their origin and the place they occupied in the Rajput society of the period. One may feel curious to know also whether they were indigenous people and related ethnically with the two great clans of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratīhāras with whom their political fortunes were connected so intimately.

The origin of the Paramāras, who played a magnificent role in Indian politics and upheld the cause of Indian culture during the early medieval period, is lost in obscurity like that of many other Rajput clans. The legends and the family inscriptions of the Paramāras speak of them as *Agnikulas*, while Halāyudha, the court-poet of Vākpati Muñja speaks of his master as *Brahmakṣatrakulīna*. Muhṇot Naiṇsī in his *Khyāt* says that the Paramāras had *Vāsiṣṭha gotra*. Of modern scholars, Watson, Forbes, Campbell, D.R. Bhandarkar etc. believe that all the so-called *Agnikula* Rajputs (*i.e.* the Paramāras, Pratīhāras, Chaulukyas and Chāhamānas) were of 'Gujjara stock'; and the Gujjaras or Gurjaras, according to these learned scholars, were foreigners. D.C. Ganguly, on the other hand, thinks that the Paramāras were neither *Agnikulas* nor Gurjaras, but the descendants of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. Let us now take these theories one by one.

The earliest and the most reliable source of the Paramāra history is the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta *alias* Parimala the court-poet of Vākpati Muñja and Sindhurāja. It gives the following account of the royal family:

"There (on Mt. Arbuda) the wise priest of the House of Ikṣavāku made a sage's grove rich in wild rice, fruits, roots, fire-wood and *kuśa* grass. His wish-granting cow was once stolen and carried away by the son of Gādhi as was that of

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Jamadagni by Kārtavīrya Arjuna. Arundhatī, upon whose bosom the silk garment was bathed with streams of tears, became *samidh* (*i.e.* a sacrificial stick) for the fire of her husband's wrath. Thereupon the first of the judges of the Atharvaṇa songs (*i.e.* Vasiṣṭha) with holy sayings, threw an offering into the fire, which kindling up with broad flames, seemed to bear an ascetic's hair braid. Quickly a man sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour. He forcibly wrested the cow from Viśvāmitra and restored it to Vasiṣṭha..... He received from the grateful owner (*i.e.*Vasiṣṭha) the fitting name of the Paramāra—slayer of the enemy—and a ruler's power over the globe before whom all the parasols of all other kings were shut..... From him, who resembled the ancient king Manu, sprang a race, which obtained high esteem by virtuous kings....."[1]

The Paramāra inscriptions unequivocally declare the origin of the Paramāras from the fire-pit of Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha at Mt. Abu. The Udaipur *praśasti* of king Udayāditya expressly states that there is in the west a son of Himālaya, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (Abu), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (true) knowledge, and (is) the place where the conjugal union of the *siddhas* is perfect. There Viśvāmitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vasiṣṭha's) power a hero arose from the fire-pit, who singly worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies, then that sage spoke : 'Thou wilt become a lord of (kings) called Paramāra'.[2] Many other Paramāra inscriptions, *viz*, the Nagpur *praśasti*,[3] Vasantgarh inscription,[4] Arthuna inscription,[5] Jaina inscription at the temple of Neminātha,[6] Ḍoṅgaragrāma inscription,[7] Paṭanārāyaṇa inscription,[8] and the Jainād inscription[9] narrate in general the same story of the Paramāra origin.

1 *NC*, XI, vv. 64-76.
2 *EI*, I, pp. 233-34.
3 *EI*, II, pp. 182-83.
4 *EI*, IX, pp. 12-13.
5 *EI*, XIV, pp. 297-98.
6 *EI*, VIII, pp. 208-09 ; *EI*, IX, pp. 155-56.
7 *EI*, XXVI, p. 183.
8 *IA*, XLV, pp. 77-79.
9 *EI*, XXII, pp. 59-60.

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It seems that the fire-origin of the Paramāras was a well-known tale, so much so that even the *praśastis* and the chronicles of Gujarat have recorded it. Thus in three inscriptions of the reign of Bhīma II reference is made to the fire-origin of the Paramāras[1] and Abhayatilakagaṇi, while explaining a verse of the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, states that the Paramāras were created by Vasiṣṭha to teach Viśvāmitra a lesson when the two sages quarrelled over the cow Nandinī.[2]

The bardic tales, some of which have been recorded by Tod,[3] and the *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*,[4] also give the same version of the origin of the Paramāras. They go a step further and ascribe the fire-origin not only to the Paramāras but also to the Pratīhāras, the Chaulukyas and the Chāhamānas. Abul Fazl, the renowned author of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, also holds up the same tradition and ascribes fire-origin to the Paramāras.[5]

[1] See above p. 9, fn. 6.

[2] *DV*, XVI, v. 34.

[3] Tod has recorded a tale according to which once the Brāhmaṇas dig the pit for burnt sacrifice to the south-west; but the demons raised storms which darkened the sky and filled it with clouds of sand, showering ordure, blood, bones and flesh, with every impurity on their rites. Their penance was of no avail.

Again they kindled the sacred fire and the priests, assembling round the *Agni-kuṇḍa*, prayed for aid to Mahādeva. From the fire mountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brāhmaṇas placed him as the guardian of the gate and thence his name *Pṛthvīdvāra*, *i.e.* Pratīhāra or Parihāra. A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (chaloo) of the hand, was named Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Paramāra. He had the blessings of the Ṛṣis and with the others went against the demons but they did not prevail. The fourth was Chauhān. *AAR*, I, p. 79.

[4] According to the *Rāso*, Viśvāmitra, Agastya, Vasiṣṭha and other sages began a great sacrifice on Mt. Abu. Daityas, who always dislike such rites, rendered it impure. With a view to ridding his companions from the nuisance, Vasiṣṭha created, from the sacrificial pit three warriors in succession, the Paḍihāra, the Solaṅki, and the Paramāra. None of them, however, succeeded in completely removing the danger from the demons.....*Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, I, pp. 45-51.

[5] It is said that "two thousand, three hundred and fiftyfive years, five months and 27 days before the 40th year of the Divine era (*i.e.* 761 B.C.), an ascetic named Mahābāha kindled the first flame in a fire-temple, and devoting himself to the worship of god, resolutely set himself to the consuming of his rebellious passions. Seekers after eternal welfare,

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Thus we see that the inscriptions as well as the legends, right from the time of Padmagupta to the time of Abul Fazl, unanimously agree to the fire-origin of the Paramāras. Now the question before us is whether the Paramāras were really born of fire ?

According to G.H. Ojha the theory of the fire-origin of the Paramāras became popular because in some of their inscriptions the name of their first ancestor is given as Dhūmarāja.[1] *Dhūma*, the first half of the name, meaning smoke, according to Ojha, was suggestive enough for the imaginative and fertile brains of the *praśasti* writers and the bards to build up the legend of the fire-origin of this royal family.[2] But the inscription in which the name Dhūmarāja occurs, is comparatively late. As seen above the *Agnikula* myth was known even to Padmagupta, who flourished in the last quarter of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Not only this, Padmagupta and the early inscriptions of the Paramāras give Paramāra as the name of the progenitor of the family, after whom the family had taken its name. It seems that in due course of time when the *Agnikula* myth had become popular enough the later *praśasti* writers made Dhūmarāja the progenitor of the family in place of Paramāra, as *dhūma* was nearer to *agni* than

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gathered round him, zealous in a life of mortification. About this time the Buddhists began to take alarm and appeared to the temporal sovereign, asserting that in this fire-temple many living things were consumed in flaming fire and that it was advisable that the Brahmanical rites should be set aside and that he should secure the preservation of life. It is said that their prayer was heard, and the prohibition against the said people was enforced. These men of mortified appetites resolved on redress sought by prayer a deliverer, who should overthrow Buddhism and restore their own faith. The Supreme Justice brought forth from this fire-temple now long-grown cold, a human-form resplendant with divine majesty and bearing in its hand a flashing sword. In a short space he enthroned himself on the summit of power, and renewed the Brahmanical observance. He assumed the name of Dhanjī and coming from the Deccan, established his seat of government in Malwa and attained to an advanced age.

When Pūtarāja, the fifth in descent from him died without issue, the nobles elected Āditya Poṅwār as his successor, and this was the origin of the sovereignty of this house". *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 215.

[1] Cf. श्री धूमराजः प्रथमं बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेन्द्रवंशे, v. 33 of the Abu ins. dated V.S. 1287=1230 A.D., at the temple of Neminātha *EI*, VIII, p. 210.

[2] *RKI*, p. 76.

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Paramāra. But actually it was not the name Dhūmarāja that gave rise to the *Agnikula* theory as supposed by Ojha. The case was rather the reverse of this *i.e.* the legend *Agnikula* giving rise in due course to the name of Dhūmarāja in place of Paramāra as the progenitor of the Paramāra family.

The *Agnikula* myth, however brings out the following significant facts with regard to the origin of the Paramāras:

(i) that the early Paramāras must have been connected with Abu in some way or the other ;

(ii) that Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha was regarded as the creator of this family ; and

(iii) that Paramāra was originally not the name of a tribe but of a family.

It may be that the Paramāras were originally Vāsiṣṭha Brāhmaṇas.[1] Their universally recognised *gotra* is Vāsiṣṭha even today. But later, on account of adopting the profession of arms, they came to be regarded as Kṣatriyas.[2] The *Agnikula* myth indicates some sort of religious rite perhaps in the presence of the sacred fire, when some ruling chiefs may have taken the vow to fight for the protection of the *dharma* and culture of their own country.[3] As for its other details, they were probably a clever adaptation of an old story in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[4]

Watson, Campbell, Forbes, Bhandarkar and H.C. Ray however opine that the Paramāras were an offshoot of the Gurjaras, a tribe which is believed to have entered India with the Hūṇas during the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. after the downfall of the imperial Guptas.[5] The following are some of the arguments advanced in favour of this theory :

[1] For a detailed discussion on this point see below, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *ABORI*, XXXV (1954), pp. 44-45.

[4] In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have a similar tale which states that on Viśvāmitra's attempting to carry away Kāmadhenu (wish-granting cow), she with the permission of Vasiṣṭha, created Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas, Barbaras, Kāmbojas, Kirātas, Hāritas and Mlechchhas, to destroy Viśvāmitra's army. *Bālakāṇḍa*, Canto 54-55.

[5] *IA*, IV, pp. 145ff. ; *BG*, IX, pt. I, pp. 485ff. ; *IA*, XL, p. 30 ; *JRAS*, 1909, pt. I, pp. 53-54; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 2 ; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Research Institute of Gr. Britain* (1910), p. 42 ; *AAR*, I, Intro., pp. xxxi-xxxiii ; *AAR*, III, p. 1445 ; *JDL*, X, p. 1 ; *EHI*, p. 318 ; *THK*, pp. 221-23 ; *JRAS*, 1904, p. 640 ; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 988 ; *ASI* (Cunn.), II, pp. 70-73.

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(a) As one of the so-called *Agnikula* clans, the Pratīhāras have been called Gurjaras in some of their records, the others *i.e.* the Chāhamānas, the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras, should be assumed to have been Gurjaras. "I believe", says D.R. Bhandarkar, "that as the (*Agnikula*) legend has brought forth these four Rajput tribes (including the Paramāras) together and classed them under *Agnikula*, they all were of Gurjara race".[1]

(b) As the Chāpas, who were Gujaras, have been regarded as a branch of the Paramāras,[2] the latter too must have been Gurjaras.

(c) Gujara Oswals are Paramāras. Therefore Paramāras must be Gurjaras.[3]

But none of these arguments can be proved to be logically conclusive. It is illogical to assume that the Paramāras, the Chaulukyas and the Chāhamānas too must be regarded as Gurjaras, just because one of the so-called *Agnikula* clans happens to be called Gurjara. All literary and epigraphic evidence goes against such a supposition. And even if it be assumed, illogically though, that their association with the (Gurjara) Pratīhāras in the *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, should make the Parmāras also Gurjaras, the protagonists of such a theory should do well to remember that the *Rāso* itself, in its present form, is a forgery of the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., which had adapted to its use an old story in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[4] We cannot, on its basis, go against the evidence of the early Paramāra inscriptions and literature.

1 *IA*, XL, p. 30.

2 *IA*, IV, p. 145.

3 *BG*, IX, pt. I, p. 485.

4 There exist in the Fort Library, Bikaner, three copies of the earliest and the shortest edition of the *Rāso* which is considered to be the most reliable edition of this work. This edition omits altogether the story of the *Agnikula* origin. All that it records is that "from the sacrifice of Brahmā was born the first valiant Chauhān Mānik Rai". *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 738-49 ; Sharma, D., *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, Chap. I.

C. L. Vaidya has also arrived at practically the same conclusion that the *Rāso* was more correct in the older renderings and has been added from time to time. *HMHI*, II, pp. 18-21.

The early renderings of the *Rāso* have nothing to say about the Paramāras, Pratīhāras or Chaulukyas.

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Secondly, the advocates of the Gurjara origin of the Rajputs do not generally pause to think what the meaning of Gurjara might be in a particular context, because Gurjara is not only the name of a people but also a country and of all the people who inhabited it, to whichever caste or clan they might have belonged. The Chāpas as a clan were different from the Gurjaras and have been so mentioned in the Nausārī inscription of Pulakeśin Avanijanāśraya of Lāṭa (738-39 A.D.).[1] But as people residing in the Gujaradeśa, they could have been called Gurjaras too. Even now we have Gurjara Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas, and the literature of Gujarat is known as *Gurjara-sāhitya*, not because it is the output of the Gurjaras but of the people of Gurjaratra or Gurjaradeśa.

A few instances of the use of the word Gurjara in this sense may perhaps be found interesting. Speaking of the use of various languages, Bhoja Paramāra writes:

Śṛṇvanti-Lāṭabhaṁ-Lāṭāḥ Prākṛtaṁ Saṁskṛta-dviṣaḥ ।
Apabhraṁśena-tuṣyanti-svena nānyena-Gurjarāḥ ॥[2]

The Gurjara of this verse can only mean the people of Gurjara (*deśa*) who are here specifically mentioned as distinct from the people of Lāṭa.[3]

Uddyotana Sūri, who wrote his work *Kuvalayamālā* at Javālipura (*i.e.* modern Jalor), describes the beautiful Gurjaradeśa and also refers to its residents in general as Gurjaras.[4] The *Pañchatantra* contains the story of a *rathakāra* who is mentioned as having gone to Gurjara country in search for camels.[5] Bilādurī, while giving a short account of Junaid's expeditions makes references to Jurz, the Arabic corruption of Gurjara, as a country among those that were invaded by his officers.[6] The word Gurjara was applied to the Pratīhāras when they were the rulers of Gurjaratra. Later it was transferred to the

[1] तरलतरतारतवारिदारितौदित सैन्धक कच्छल सौराष्ट्र चावोत्कटमौर्य गुर्जरादि राज्ये । *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, I, p. 211, fn. 2 ; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 109, fn.

[2] *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, II, v. 13 ; the first half of the verse is found also in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* (p. 34), though in a slightly different form.

[3] Majumdar, A.K., *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 13.

[4] *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 282.

[5] *Pañchatantra*, ed. by Kosegarten, p. 229 ; *ibid.*, (*BSS*), IV-V, p. 33.

[6] *HIED*, I, p. 126 ; see *GG*, pp. 5-6 ; *IHQ*, X, pp. 337ff.

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Chaulukyas who ruled over Gujarat for a long period. The *Raṇamallachhanda* applies it to all the princelings of Gujarat of whichever clan they might have been ;[1] and it may be interesting to note that the term *Gurjarabhūpa* has been used even for the Muslim rulers of Gujarat. We have found no instance of a Paramāra being called a Gurjara; but even if there were one or two such instances, we have with all the evidence before us, to interpret that in the sense of a Paramāra from the Gurjara *Janapada.*

D.C. Ganguly thinks that the Paramāras were neither Gurjaras nor born of fire, but they were the descendants of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa[2] In this connection he has adduced the following evidence of the Harsola copper-plate grant of Harṣa Sīyaka II, dated V.S. 1005=949 A.D. :

Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-Amoghavarṣadeva-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-Akālavarṣadeva-pṛthvīvallabha-śrīvallabha-narendra-pādānāṁ ।

Tasmin=kule kalmaṣa-moṣa-dakṣe-jātaḥ-pratāpāgni-hut-āri-pakṣaḥ । V(B) appaiparāj=eti nṛpaḥ prasiddhas=tasmāt=suto=bhūd=anu Vairisiṁghaḥ ॥ 2 ॥

Dīpt-āri-vanitā-vaktra-chaṁdra-biṁba-kalaṁkatā no dhautā yasya kīrty=āpi Hara-hās-āvadātayā ॥ 3 ॥

Durvvāra-ṛpu-bhūpāla-raṇa-raṁg-aika-nāyakaḥ । nṛpaḥ śrī-Sīyakas=tasmāt-kula-kalpa-drumo=bhavat ॥ 4 ॥[3]

The compound *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-Amoghavarṣadeva-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrīmad-Akālavarṣadeva-pṛthvīvallabha-śrīvallabha-narendra-pādānāṁ* is first followed by a *virāma*, and then by Paramāra genealogy from Bappairāja to Sīyaka II.

According to D.C. Ganguli, "Akālavarṣa the son of Amoghavarṣa, in whose family Bappairāja was born, is evidently the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III, king of Mānyakheṭa, whose known dates range from 940 to 951 A.D. He was a contemporary

[1] यदि न भवति रणमल्लः प्रतिमल्लः पातशाह कटकानाम्
विक्रीयन्ते धगड़ैर्बाजारे गुर्जरा भूपाः ॥७॥ *Raṇamallachhanda*, p. 2.

[2] *GHP*, p. 9.

[3] *EI*, XIX, pp. 241-42.

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of Paramāra Sīyaka II (949-969 A.D.)[1].....Vappai referred to in the Harsola grant is undoubtedly the same as Vākpātirāja I, the father of Vairisiṁha II. Hence it is evident from the above grant, that the Paramāras were the members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race".[2] The Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin of the Paramāras is further proved, according to D.C. Ganguly, by the fact that Vākpati Muñja, the son of Sīyaka II, assumed the Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles of *Amoghavarṣa*, *Śrīvallabha* and *Pṛthvīvallabha*.[3] To prove his contention D.C. Ganguly further argues that the original home of the Paramāras must have been in the Deccan, which once formed the home dominion of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He tries to find support in the statement of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* that Dhanañjaya, the founder of the Paramāra family, transferring his seat from the Deccan, established himself in the sovereignty of Malwa.[4]

But the arguments of D.C. Ganguly are not very convincing. He agrees that Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa was a contemporary of Paramāra Sīyaka II ; and so Amoghavarṣa, the predecessor of Kṛṣṇa III would have been a contemporary of Sīyaka II's father, Vairisiṁha II. If the Paramāras had been the descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Sīyaka II should have drawn the pedigree of his family from the early members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family and not simply mentioned his own and his father's contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers. The expression *tasminkule i.e.* in that family, of the Harsola grant presupposes the mention of that family, but the immediately preceding expression is the genetive case-ending *narendrapādānāṁ* which, as suggested by the editors of the grant, is hardly appropriate.[5] It seems, as suggested by Messrs K.N. Dikshit and D.B. Diskalkar, that some portion, *i.e.* the portion preceding the expression *tasminkule* of the original draft, is missing through the engraver's oversight.

We can explain the occurrence of the names of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers, Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa, in the Harsola plates also in another way. The plates belonged probably to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

[1] His Harsola grant is dated in 949 A.D. and Ahmedabad grant in 969 A.D., *EI*, XIX, pp. 241-43 ; *ibid.*, pp. 178-79.
[2] *GHP*, pp. 8-10.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *EI*, XIX, p. 238.

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of Mānyakheṭa, but Sīyaka II secured them as a part of his loot in a raid on some Rāṣṭrakūṭa headquarters and used them without taking the trouble to remove the introductory portion. Thus we get a heterogeneous charter which apparently begins as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record but ends as a Paramāra grant. Sīyaka II's son Vākpati II went a step further. His Gaonri plates originally bore a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription.[1] He not only effaced it but used even the Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles *Pṛthvīvallabha*, *Śrīvallabha* and *Amoghavarṣa*, for he probably believed that he had a better right to them than the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with their departed imperial glory ; and in this he was doing what the Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves had done when they appropriated some of the imperial Chālukya titles.[2]

Another explanation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa names in the introductory portion of the Harsola record can indeed be, as proposed by the editors of the Harsola record that the Paramāras were the descendants of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess. As some of the Vākāṭaka plates begin with a description of the Gupta emperors from whom queen Prabhāvatī was descended,[3] so the Paramāras could, if they were the descendants of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa through a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess, open their account with the names of the two sovereigns. But the arguments urged against their direct male descent from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas can be urged with equal force against this hypothesis ; and even if we take it as correct, we have to admit that some portion of the record is missing, for thus alone can we give the record a good interpretation.

As to Vākpati Muñja's adopting the Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles this could have been due to the fact that the Paramāras regarded themselves as the successors to the glory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whose capital was looted by Vākpati II's predecessor, Sīyaka II.[4] The Rāṣṭrakūṭas themselves had adopted some of the titles of the Chālukyas, whom they had overthrown.[5]

1 *EI*, XXIII, pp. 101-13.

2 Cf. *Pṛthvīvallabha, śrīvallabha, raṇarasika, bhuvanakandarpa, vīramārtaṇḍa.*

3 *EI*, XV, pp. 39-44.

4 श्री हर्षदेव इति खोट्टिगदेवलक्ष्मीं जग्राह यो युधि नगादसमप्रतापः ।
EI, I, p. 235; *vide infra* Chap. IV.

5 See above fn. 2.

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Nor need we attach any great importance to D.C. Ganguly's evidence from the *Āin-i-Akbarī*. The coming of Dhanañjaya or Dhanjī from the Deccan does not, in any way, prove the south Indian origin of the Paramāras, for Dhanañjaya is mentioned nowhere either as a Paramāra or as an ancestor of the Paramāras. It is stated clearly in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* that when Pūtarāja, the fifth in descent from Dhanjī died without issue, the nobles elected Āditya Poṅwār as his successor and this was the origin of the sovereignty of this family.[1] Obviously then Āditya Poṅwār, with whom began the Paramāra rule in Malwa, belonged to a clan different from that of Dhanjī. Most probably he was a local magnate called to the throne on the failure of the old line.[2]

In fact those who ascribe a Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin to the Paramāras—direct or indirect—should read the account left by Padmagupta, the court-poet of Vākpati Muñja.[3] Had the Paramāras been Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as supposed by D.C. Ganguly, it is unlikely that this important fact would have been forgotten so far that within the short space of twenty five years or so, a court-poet of Sīyaka II's son and successor Vākpati Muñja should ascribe quite a false origin to his patron's family.[4] Moreover it would have been the proud privilege of the Paramāras to trace their lineage from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, if it had been really so, as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were one of the most powerful ruling dynasties of the time. On the other hand Abu, which is described by Padmagupta as the original habitat of the Paramāras was insignificant in comparison to the glory of Mānyakheṭa.

Moreover we cannot bypass the evidence provided by the inscriptions (which unanimously speak of the Paramāras as born of the sacrificial fire at Mt. Abu)[5] in favour of the vague and stray reference in the Harsola grant, a reference that can be explained in other ways also as we have seen above.[6]

[1] See above pp. 10-11, fn. 5.

[2] And we are not sure whether Dhanjī could, on the basis of the statement of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, be proved to be a Rāṣṭrakūṭa, for no logic compels one to believe that every one who came from the Deccan was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa.

[3] *NC*, XI, vv. 49-61.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See above p. 9, fns. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

[6] See above pp. 16-17.

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Putting together all the above evidence, we then come to the conclusion that the Paramāras were neither *Agnivaṁśīs i.e.* born of fire, nor Gurjaras ; nor can we prove their Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin on the basis of the Harsola grant. But this being only a negative answer the question naturally arises, who the Paramāras really were ? Halāyudha the court-poet of Vākpati Muñja, has used the word *Brahmakṣatra* for his patron in his *Piṅglasūtravṛtti.* He says :

Brahma-kṣatra-kulīnaḥ smasta sāmanta chakra-nuta charṇaḥ ।
Sakala-sukṛt-āika=puñjaḥ śrīmān Muñja=śchiraṁ jayati ॥[1]

The expression perhaps means that Muñja belonged to a family which had the attributes of the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Kṣatriyas *i.e.* the learning of the former and the valour of the latter.[2] Or it may be that the Paramāras like the Śuṅgas, the Sātavāhanas, the Kadambas and probably also the Chāhamānas and the Guhilas were descended from an ancestor, who though originally a Brāhmaṇa had, on account of adopting the profession of arms, come to be regarded as a Kṣatriya. In the case of the Paramāras this probability increases still further when we know that their *gotrochchāra* was *Vāsiṣṭhagotra.* So it is very probable that they were originally Vāsiṣṭha Brāhmaṇas, but later came to be regarded as Kṣatriyas either on account of adopting *kṣātradharma* or because their progenitor married a Kṣatriya woman and so their later descendants adopted their mother's caste for all practical purposes.[3]

[1] *Chhandaśāstra* of Piṅgalāchārya, *Adh.*, 4, p. 49, 4/19.

[2] The word *Brahmakṣatra* in this sense is of common occurrence in the *Purāṇas :*

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्दंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ।
क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥ *Matsya,* 50, 88 ; see *RKI,* p. 75, fn. 2.

In the Devapāḍā ins. of Vijayasena his predecessors are mentioned as belonging to the lunar family and Sāmantasiṁha is called the crest-jewel of the Brahmakṣatriyas. *EI,* I, p. 307, v. 5.

[3] The same seems to be the case of the Pratīhāras whose progenitor Hariśchandra married a Kṣatriya woman Bhadrā. The sons of Bhadrā adopted her caste. *ABORI,* XXXV, p. 53.

The fact seems to be unsound on the face of the prevailing Hindu practice, but seems to be justified on the evidence of Medhātithi. See Medhātithi on Manu, V, p. 258 (translated by Ganganath Jha) ; Manu, VI, 10 ; *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, Āchārādhyāya. śloka* 91 ; *IA,* XL, pp. 35-36.

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It is impossible to be more definite about the exact origin of the Paramāras on the basis of the available evidence and perhaps it is unnecessary too, for what really matters is the magnificent role they played for centuries in the field of Indian politics and in the cause of Indian culture.

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CHAPTER III

POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RISE OF THE PARAMĀRA POWER IN MALWA

THE LAND of Malwa had prospered under the benevolent rule of the imperial Guptas, of whom one, the great Chandragupta Vikramāditya is styled as *Ujjayinīpurādhīśvara* and is believed by many scholars to have held his court at Ujjayinī. But with the break-up of the Gupta empire in the later part of the fifth century A.D., India lost her much-sought-for political unity; the parochial spirit asserted itself and the forces of disintegration became active. Out of the welter emerged a new set of independent states, none of them supreme and none satisfied with its existing political status. Chief among these states were the Maitrakas of Valabhī, the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Puṣyabhūtis of Ṭhāneśvara, the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the Gurjaras of Rajasthan, the later Guptas and the kingdoms of Nepal, Bengal, Assam and Orissa. With the coming of Śrī Harṣa in the beginning of the 7th century A.D., India once again witnessed the restoration of political unity and solidarity though to a limited extent and for a short period only. With the death of Harṣavardhana in 647 A.D., the empire that he had struggled hard to establish crumbled to pieces. A period of political chaos and anarchy followed.

Next came the Arab aggression. Sind was conquered in 712 A.D.[1] In about 739 A.D. the Arabs began to fan out and conquered other territories. The Tājikas (the Arabs (?)) overthrew the Saindhava, Kachchhella, Saurāṣṭra, Chāvotakaṭa, Maurya and Gurjara kings and penetrated deep into Lāṭa; but in the Chālukya prince Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin they met their match. He inflicted a severe defeat on the Arabs in a battle perhaps fought near Nausārī and thus turned back the tide of the invasion from peninsular India. In the north, the Arab invasion had greater effect; some of the older dynasties disappeared and political

[1] Majumdar, R. C., *The Arab Invasion of India*, *JIH*, X, Supplement.

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power passed into the hands of the leaders who either rallied the forces of resistance against foreign invaders or gave peace to their territories by ending *mātsyanyāya*, a condition in which might was right.

In the first half of the 8th century A.D. thus emerged the three imperial dynasties—the Pālas, the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas—who were destined to play an important role in the country's history for centuries to come, and the stage was set for the 'tripartite struggle', which forms the most interesting episode of the early medieval history of our country. Throughout the period of this inter-state conflict, Malwa played an important part due to its economic and strategic importance. The occupation of Malwa opened the doors for further territorial expansion, whereas an independent but friendly state of Malwa was an asset in itself.

Malwa came very early within the orbit of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ambition, as is obvious from various references to it in their records. The Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription of Dantidurga, for instance, tells us that he vanquished the Vallabha (*i.e.* the Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi), Sindhubhūpa, Kāñcīśa, the kings of Kośala and Kaliṅga, the chief of Śrīśaila country, and subjugated the rulers of Malwa, Lāṭa and Taṅka by his policy.[1] Verse 25 of this inscription states that Mahārāja Śarva, *i.e.* Dantidurga, did something (verb lost) like Bībhatsu (Arjuna) to rescue from danger a certain king called Deva, who like another Yudhiṣṭhira was accompanied by several devoted and fearless kings and loyal servants and was followed by a powerful army (*bhīmasenā*).[2] Verse 26 refers to some great gift (*mahādāna*) which he made at Ujjayinī.[3] This *mahādāna*, according to the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarṣa, was the *hiraṇyagarbhadāna* and

[1] दण्डेनैव जिगाय वल्लभबलं यः सिन्धुभूपाधिपं काञ्चीशं स कलिङ्गकोशलपतिं श्रीशैलदेशेश्वरं शेषान् मालवलाटटंकनृपतीनन्यांश्च नीत्वा वशं यः श्रीवल्लभतामवापच्चरणं न्यस्यद्विषां मस्तके ॥२३॥ *ASWI*, V, p. 88.

[2] देवं...सवरपरिकरंभीमसेनानुयातं प्रहवैर्भूपैरद्रवृन्दैः परिवृतमभयैर् उग्रसेनो जितारिः व्यापद्युद्धर्त्तुमेकं प्रसभपरकरिध्वंस संस्कारदक्षोवीभत्सुर्दुष्टनागोजयिनमिव परं श्रीमहाराजशर्वः ॥२५॥ *Ibid.*

[3] दत्तंयेनोज्जयिन्यामपि नृपतिमहादानमाश्चर्यभूतं व्याख्यं संचिंयदीप्तद्युतिबहुकनकं रत्नमुक्तावतंसं माणिक्यवाकीर्णमन्यं दिवसमविरततृप्तदीनार्थिसार्थं कर्तुं क्रीडामपूर्वामपरनृपतिभिः स्वप्नकालेप्यनाप्याम् ॥२६॥ *Ibid.*

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during the performance of the ceremony, it is said, that Dantidurga posted *Gurjareśa* and other kings as *pratīhāras*.[1] The use of the phrase that *Gurjareśa* was posted as the *pratīhāra* has led D.R. Bhandarkar to surmise that before the performance of the *hiraṇyagarbhadāna* ceremony by Dantidurga, the king who was ruling at Ujjain was a member of the Gurjara Pratīhāra family,[2] and on its basis some scholars have built the theory that Malwa was the home territory of the Gurjara Pratīhāras.[3] They also think that Ujjain was the Pratīhāra capital before it was shifted to Kānyakubja.[4] They find support for this view from the following verse of Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* written in 783 A.D. :

Pūrvāṁ śrīmad=Avanti-bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsādirāje=parāṁ' ।
Saurāṇām=adhimaṇḍalaṁ jaya-yute vīre Varāhe=vati ॥[5]

According to some scholars Vatsarāja is mentioned here as the ruler of Avanti.[6]

It is for us now to see how far we can agree with these views. In the Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription, Malwa and Gurjara kingdoms are referred to separately.[7] Malwa is one of the lands said to have been conquered by Dantidurga's policy.[8] The Gurjara kingdom, on the other hand, lay somewhere on the sea-coast because the beautiful palace of the *Gurjareśvara*, is said to have been occupied by Dantidurga as a result of his conquest of the sea-coast.[9] The Gurjara kingdom is thus obviously the Gurjara kingdom of Baroach and most probably it is the ruler of this Gurjara kingdom who acted as a 'door keeper' along with others in the *hiraṇyagarbhadāna* ceremony.

[1] हिरण्यगर्भे राजन्यैरुज्जयिन्यां यदासितं ।
प्रतिहारीकृतं येन गुर्ज्जरेशादिराजकम् ॥९॥ *EI*, XVIII, p. 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[3] *e.g.*, R.C. Majumdar, A.S. Altekar and D.C. Ganguly.

[4] *AIK*, p. 19.

[5] *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, p. 806, v. 52.

[6] *e.g.*, Fleet (*EI*, V, p. 195) ; Bhandarkar (*EI*, XVIII, pp. 238-39) ; Altekar (*AR*, p. 39) ; Tripathi (*THK*, pp. 225-26).

[7] *ASWI*, V, pp. 88-89.

[8] See above p. 22, fn. 1.

[9] यस्य खण्डितविक्रमस्य कटकेनाक्रम्य तीरक्षितिं सौधेस्मिम् कृतगुर्ज्जरेंद्ररुचिते रम्ये…
तैरतस्थुषः स्नान्तीभि……तांगरागसुरभि…… *ASWI*, V, p. 89.

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The Gurjara's acting as a *pratīhāra* in rhe *hīraṇyagarbhadāna* at Ujjain, cannot lead to the conclusion that the Gurjara was the ruler of Malwa. If Gurjara acted as a *pratīhāra* in the *yajña* so did the other Kṣatriyas.[1] How are then we to surmise that the Gurjara alone was the ruler of Ujjain and not the other Kṣatriyas who along with the *Gurjareśa* participated in the ceremony at Ujjain. Actually, the *hiraṇyagarbhadāna* ceremony might have been just a thanksgiving ceremony performed by the Kṣatriyas to celebrate their success against a common enemy, perhaps the *mlechchhas*, and Ujjain being a sacred site was selected as its venue. If all the leading Kṣatriyas including Dantidurga and the *Gurjareśa* took part in it (*rājanyairyadāsitaṁ*) it provides no ground for the conclusion that one of them *i.e.* the *Gurjareśa* was the ruler of Ujjain.

As to the reference to the verse of the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, it is well-known that it is ambiguously worded and its meaning is far from certain. If for that reason, we leave aside its doubtful testimony and rely mainly on the unambiguous testimony of the epigraphic and other literary references it would appear that Rajasthan and not Malwa was the original kingdom of Vatsarāja Pratīhāra. According to the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana Sūri, Vatsarāja ruled at Jalor (W. Rajasthan) in 778 A.D.,[2] that is full five years before the writing of the *Harivaṁśa Parāṇa*. Again it was to Marwar (*i.e.* Rajasthan) that Vatsarāja had to retire after his discomfiture at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa.[3] Vatsarāja's inscriptions also come from Rajasthan and areas other than Malwa.[4]

That Malwa was not a Pratīhāra kingdom may be inferred also from some other facts. The Nesārikā grant of Govinda III, dated Śaka 727=805 A.D., mentions Gurjara and Mālava kings separately in vv. 15 and 16 respectively.[5] The king of Malwa was

[1] See above p. 23, fn. 1.

[2] *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 283 ; *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 396-98.

[3] Rādhanpur and Wani grants of Govinda III, *EI*, VI, p. 243 ; *IA*, XI, p. 157.

[4] Cf. Osia ins., *ASI*, 1908-09, p. 108; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1010; Daulatpura copper plate. *EI*, V, pp. 208-13.

[5] संधाय्याशु शिलीमुखान् रभसमयाद्वाणासनस्योपरि प्राप्तं वर्द्धितबंधुजीवरिभवं पद्माभिवृद्ध्याञ्चितम् । सन्नद्धत्रमुदीक्ष्य यं शरहतुं पर्जन्यवद्गूर्जरो नष्टः क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥ यत्पादानतिमात्रकैकशरणामालोक्य लक्ष्मीं निजां दूरान्मालवनायको नयपरो

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therefore different from the Gurjara king. In vv. 22 and 23 the *Gurjareśvara* and the *Avantināth*a are again referred to separately, and two different insignia are attributed to them.[1] Thus neither the king of Malwa was *Gurjareśvara* nor was the latter a king of Avanti in 805 A.D. That the king of Malwa and Avanti were identical is proved by the *Kuvalayamālā*.[2] The Baroda copper-plate inscription of Karkarāja, dated Śaka 734=812 A.D., bears clear testimony to the fact that the Gurjara lord made a severe attack on the king of Malwa who was saved from ruin by the help of Karkarāja.[3] The Rādhanpur and Diṇḍorī inscriptions of Govinda III, both of Śaka 730=808 A.D., make it clear that this Gurjara lord was an enemy of the king of Malwa.[4] So

(*Contd. from previous page*)

यं प्राणमत्प्राञ्जलिः । को विद्वान् बलिना सहाल्प बलकः स्पर्द्धां विधत्ते परां नीतेस्तद्धि फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिक्यसंवेदनम् ॥ *EI*, XXXIV, p. 130.

[1] अंध्रचालुक्यमौर्येभ्यो वराहं गूर्जरेश्वरात् ।
'फलकं प्रतिवध्नार्य वृषभं पल्लवेश्वरात् ॥
कोसलावंतिनाथाभ्यां सिंहलादपि नाम ।
ताराभगवतिख्यातां धर्म्माद्गंगालभूमिपात् ॥ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[2] The *Kuvalayamālā* identifies Avanti Janapada with Mālavadeśa which was ruled over by king Avantivardhana. The capital of the country is given as Ujjayinī, cf. सो य केरिसो अवंति-जणवओ। जत्थ य पहिएहिं परिभममाणेहिं सयले विदेसे दिट्ठइं एक्को व दोण्णि व तलायइं जाइं ण धणधडिय-कसण-पत्थर-रिणबद्धइं, दोण्णि व तिण्णि व दिट्ठइं रुक्खइं जाइं ण सरस-साउ-महल्ल-पिक्क-घण-फलइं, तिण्णि व चयारि व दिट्ठइं गामइं जाइं ण गणिज्जंति थोव-वीहयइं, चत्तारि व पंच व दिट्ठइं देवउलइं जाइं ण सुन्दर-विलासिणी-रणाबद्ध-संगइ-गीयइं, पंच व छ व दिट्ठउ विलासिणिओ जाओ ण धरिय-धवलायवत्त-माऊर छत्त-चामराडंबराओ त्ति । अवि य ।

बहु-रयण-णियर-भरिओ वियरंतुद्दाम-मुइय-संखउलो । णिम्मल-मुत्ता-पउरो मालवदेसो समुद्दो व्व ॥

तस्स देसस्स मज्झ-भाए

धवलहर-णिम्मलब्भा फुरंत-मणि-विमल-किरण-तारइया । सरए व्व गयण-लच्छी उज्जेणी रेहिरा णयरी ॥

Line 31 gives the name of the king, cf. तओ राइणो अवंतिवद्धणस्स.....
Kuvalayamālā, p. 50.

This shows that at least in the time of Uddyotana Sūri who was a contemporary of Vatsarāja Pratīhāra, Malwa and Avanti connoted the same country and it had its capital at Ujjayinī. See also *EI*, XXXIV, p. 127.

[3] *IA*, XII, p. 160.

[4] *EI*, VI. pp. 239-51 ; *IA*, XI, pp. 156-63.

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if the Gurjara Pratīhāra king was an enemy of the *Avantibhūbhṛt*, he could not obviously be the *Avantibhūbhṛt* himself. Another record, the Khālimpur plates of king Dharmapāla of Bengal, also proves the same fact, for it says that the king of Malwa was among those rulers who acclaimed the succession of Dharmapāla's protege Chakrāyudha.[1] We cannot obviously assign this role to a Gurjara Pratīhāra chief. This very Mālava ruler or his father may have been the one who aided Govinda II against his brother Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa.[2]

It was perhaps to punish these hostile activities of the ruler of Avanti, who had allied himself with the enemies of the Pratīhāras, that Nāgbhaṭa II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, attacked Malwa and captured some of its outlying hill-forts.[3]

Thus we find that Malwa was not under Gurjara Pratīhāra control at least during the last quarter of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century A.D. It continued to maintain its independent existence throughout this period, though at times it had to ally itself with one power or the other, according to the exigencies of the situation. The clan which ruled over Malwa in the years of the triangular struggle is mentioned nowhere. But a consideration of various facts leads one to conclude that it was about this time that Upendra Paramāra first established his kingdom in Malwa.[4] He had probably

[1] *EI*, IV, p. 248.

[2] Two Bhor State Museum copper plates, *EI*, XXII, p. 184, v. 21.

[3] *EI*, XVIII, p. 108, v. 11.

[4] D. C. Sircar, however, thinks that Avanti could be the capital of the Gurjara and yet its ruler could be referred to separately from the Gurjara perhaps because Avanti was ruled over by a governor of the Pratīhāras. He quotes the example of Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha which are mentioned separately in the Sirur and Nīlaguṇḍa inscriptions of Amoghavarṣa, though in latter's time Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha were parts of the Pāla empire and were ruled over by the subordinate chiefs of the Pālas. (*EI*, XXXIV, pp. 137-39).

We may however point out that Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha may have been under the Pāla rulers of Bengal and yet be referred to separately in Amoghavarṣa's inscriptions because they were separate Janapadas. Amoghavarṣa's inscriptions do not perhaps refer to Aṅga and Magadha as parts of Vaṅga empire ruled over by the subordinate governors of the king of Bengal but as various eastern Janapadas conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler.

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many ups and downs in life but he probably managed to leave behind a small kingdom[1], which expanded and increased in power under his successors.[2]

[1] *Vide infra* Chap. IV.

[2] V. V. Mirashi, on the other hand, is of the opinion that Malwa, which according to him was included in the dominions of the Pratīhāras, was conquered by Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III in alliance with Lakṣmaṇarāja II Kalachuri, sometime after 946 A.D. and was made over to the Paramāras who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas(*MSI*, II, p. 226).

But as we have shown the Paramāras were ruling in Malwa (some part or the other) long before 946 A. D. and there is nothing to show that the Paramāras owed the kingdom of Malwa to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (*vide* Chap. IV). All that we know is that the Paramāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations during the time of Kṛṣṇa III and his successor Khoṭṭigadeva were hostile to such an extent that it resulted into the sack of Mānyakheṭa by Paramāra Sīyaka II (*ibid.*)

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CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY PARAMĀRA RULERS OF MALWA

OUR KNOWLEDGE of the early Paramāra rulers, from Upendra to Vairisiṁha II is rather scanty, as we have no Paramāra records of this period. But there are important references to them in the records of their powerful neighbours, the imperial Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan. Theirs was a buffer state which had to bear the brunt of fighting whenever these two imperial powers clashed with each other;[1] the Paramāras, therefore, had to move warily to preserve their political existence.[2] They changed sides if the circumstances so demanded; they bowed down also before the stronger power. But despite a few reverses and setbacks, they steadily gathered strength, and by the time of Vairisiṁha II's successor, Sīyaka II, were themselves in a position to enter the lists of the contenders for imperial supremacy.

Upendrarāja : c. 791-818 A.D.

We have already referred to the triangular struggle for power.[3] The first Paramāra chief to take advantage of it was Upendrarāja, a man of adventure and ambition, who, in the words of the Udaipur *praśasti*, 'gained the high order of kinghood by his own valour'.[4] Circumstances favoured him. Vatsarāja Pratīhāra had been driven to Rajasthan, and Dhruva had retired to the south. The vacuum thus left was filled by Dharmapāla of Gauḍa

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. III.

[2] Cf. यत्पादानतिमात्रकैकशरणामालोक्य लक्ष्मीं निजां दूरान्मालवनायको नयपरो यं प्राणमत्प्राञ्जलिः । को विद्वान् बलिना सहाल्प बलकः स्पर्द्धां विधत्ते परां नीतेरस्तद्धि फलं यदात्मपरयोराधिक्षयसंवेदनम् ॥ vv. 23-25 of the Wani Dindori grant, *IA*, XI, p. 158 ; v. 16 of the Rādhanpur plates, *EI*, VI, p. 244 ; vv. 15-16 of the Nesārikā grant, *EI*, XXXIV, p. 130.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap. III.

[4] तदन्ववायेऽखिलयज्ञसंघतृप्तामरोदाहृतकीर्त्तिरासीत् ।
उपेंद्रराजो द्विजवर्ग्गरत्नं शौर्य्यार्जितोत्तुंगनृपत्व [मा] नः ॥ [७ ॥] *EI*, I, p. 234.

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and his friends who put Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj ; and we may reasonably identify Upendrarāja with the chief of Avanti[1] who with many other rulers of northern India approved Chakrāyudha's installation.[2] These events may be assigned to about 791 A.D.[3]

Later when Dhruva had passed away and been succeeded by his brilliant son, Govinda III, who repeated his father's exploits by invading northern India followed by the defeat of the Pratīhāras, Upendrarāja submitted to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor along with his allies, Chakrāyudha of Kanauj and Dharmapāla of Gauḍa.[4] But a little later Upendra had to pay a heavy price both for his alliance with the Pālas and his subservience to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, for after his defeat of *Gauḍendra* Dharmapāla, Nāgabhaṭa II turned towards Malwa.[5] Upendrarāja appears to have been defeated. His territory was over run.[6] Reduced to sore straits Upendra appealed to Govinda III by whose orders Karka II, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of Gujarat, rushed to Upendra's help. 'His mighty arm', we are told, 'was made the excellent doorbar of the country of the Gurjaras'.[7] Nāgabhaṭa II, thus, put the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the defensive. But the relief secured by Upendrarāja was probably only temporary, for Govinda III died in 814 A.D.[8] and Nāgabhaṭa II, with his

[1] For the discussion regarding the identity of the chief of Avanti, see our Chap. III and *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 127, 137-39.

[2] Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla, *EI*, IV, p. 248.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap III. Recently a fresh theory has been put forth that Upendra belonged to the Brāhmaṇa aristrocracy of Mānyakheṭa (*QRHS*, I, No. 3, 1961-62, p. 128).

We do not know the grounds on which this view has been sponsored. As already shown by us, all the available evidence goes to prove that the Paramāras originally belonged to Abu and its neighbouring territory and established themselves in Malwa during the period of political confusion ensuing from the tripartite struggle. *Vide ante* Chaps. II and III.

[4] vv. 23-24 of the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarṣa, *EI*, XVIII, p. 245 ; Waṇi grant of Govinda III, *IA*, XI, pp. 156-63.

[5] The Gwalior *praśasti* of Bhoja Pratīhāra, *EI*, XVIII, p. 108, v. 11.

[6] Mark the significance of the word 'विहत' used in the description of the Mālava chief in vv. 39-40 of the Baroda grant, *IA*, XII, p. 160 ; *vide ante* Chap. III.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *AR*, p. 71.

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resources greatly augmented as a result of the extension of his empire up to Monghyr, took to offensive once again.[1] Somewhere between 814 A.D.[2] and 833 A.D., probably about 820 A.D.,[3] he attacked Malwa, captured many of its hill-forts[4] and reduced either Upendra or his successor to subordination.

Our conclusion, no doubt, goes against that reached by D.C. Ganguly according to whom Malwa remained a Rāṣṭrakūṭa dependency up to the time of Mahīpāla Pratīhāra (914-933 A.D.), who is believed to have conquered it sometime after the death of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (shortly before 918 A.D.).[5] But D.C. Ganguly's view suffers from some serious flaws. He tries to prove the continued control of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas over Malwa on the basis of a statement in the Nīlagunḍa inscription that the rulers of Aṅga Vaṅga, Malwa and Magadha worshipped at the feet of Amoghavarṣa.[6] But when none, including D.C. Ganguly, contends on the basis of this statement that Bengal and Bihar had passed under the control of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, what special grounds have we to use that very statement to prove that Malwa was under the subordination of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler? All that it may prove, perhaps, is that Amoghavarṣa had such an ambition and might have even led some expedition against Avanti, the success of which, however, must be taken as extremely doubtful; for all the evidence that we have goes to prove that the Pratīhāras were in the effective control of Malwa during the reign of Amoghavarṣa's contemporary and rival, Bhoja I Pratīhāra. The latter was the suzerain of Saurāṣṭra.[7] It was through Malwa that the latter's armies advanced and interfered in the affairs of Lāṭa which was then under a chief of

[1] *IHQ*, XX, pp. 74-75.

[2] A record dated 815 A.D. found at Buchkalā in Jodhpur (*EI*, IX, pp. 198-200), gives Nāgabhaṭa II all the imperial titles which show that by that time he had regained his imperial position.

[3] *IHQ*, XX, pp. 72-75.

[4] v. 11 of the Gwalior *praśasti*, *EI*, XVIII, p. 108.

[5] *GHP*, pp. 32-33.

[6] *Ari-nṛipati-makuta-ghaṭṭita-charaṇas=sakala-bhuvana-vandita-śauryyaḥ Vaṁg-Āṁga-Magadha-Mālava Veṁgiśe (śai)r=archchito=Tiśayadhava-(laḥ)*/*EI*, VI, p. 103, ll. 7-8; see also ll. 5-6 of the Sirūr inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa, *EI*, VII, p. 206.

[7] *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 142-51,

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the Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch.[1] It was here that the Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas clashed, when, after Amoghavarṣa's death (in 878 A.D.), his son and successor, Kṛṣṇa II tried to reconquer Malwa and fought a successful battle against the Pratīhāras near Ujjain ;[2] and it was from here that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas fled pellmell before Bhoja's army which pursued them up to Broach and ended the political career of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa.[3] Even in the reign of Mahīpāla, who suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Kṛṣṇa II's successor and grandson, Indra III,[4] Malwa was probably under the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras and this would perhaps explain why Indra III attacked the Pratīhāra dominions by way of Kālpī,[5] instead of Malwa.[6]

Dr. Altekar and Prof. K.A.N. Sastri identify Upendra Paramāra with Upendra of verse 23 of the Begumrā plates (also called the Nausārī plates) of Indra III.[7] While eulogising the various victories affected by Indra III as Yuvarāja, the verse says:

Kṛta-Govardhan-oddhāraṁ hel=onmūlita-Meruṇā
Upendraṁ-Indra-rājena jitvā yena na vismitaṁ ।[8]

On the basis of this verse, they make Upendra an adversary of Indra III, put his reign between 900-25 A.D. and regard him as the grandfather of Sīyaka II.[9]

But such a view creates many difficulties of which the most important is the chronological. Making Upendra as the grandfather of Sīyaka II, goes against the evidence provided by the

[1] The Begumrā plates, *IA*, XIII, pp. 65-69.
[2] *Ibid.*; The Begumrā plates of Indra III, No. 1, *EI*, IX, p. 31, v. 15.
[3] The Bhavnagar Museum ins., *EI*, XIX, pp. 174-77.
[4] *EI*, VII, p. 38.
[5] Kālpī is the modern representative of Kālapriya (*MSI*, I, p. 41), a point at which Indra III's armies are said to have crossed Yamunā during his attack on Kanauj.

Cf. यः माद्यद्द्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं
तीर्णो यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्धिनी ।
येनेदं हि महोदयाभिधनगरं निर्म्मूलमुन्मूलितं
नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमितिं ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥
Cambay plates, *EI*, VII, p. 38, v. 18.

[6] See below p. 35.
[7] *EI*, IX, p. 32 ; *JBBRAS*, XVIII, p. 259.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *AR*, p. 100; *Dr. Lakṣmaṇa Swarūp Commemoration Volume*, p. 297.

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Udaipur *praśasti* and the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. According to the former Upendra was the sixth, and according to the latter, he was the seventh ruler in the lineal ascent from Sīyaka II,[1] whose earliest known date is 948-49 A.D.[2] Upendra could therefore have flourished in the last decade of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Thus Upendra could not obviously be Upendra, supposed to have been defeated by Indra III who flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century A.D.

We may also remark that in the above mentioned verse Upendra is spoken of in connection with Govardhana and not Malwa. We are not even sure whether Upendra Paramāra was at any time important enough to be mentioned as Indra's adversary. Actually Upendra in the above verse does not stand for any historic person ; it merely means Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu, who under the name Upendra became the younger brother of Indra in the *Vāmanāvatāra*. The verse simply states that Indra (*i.e.* the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief) has surpassed Upendra (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa) in bravery. While Upendra (Kṛṣṇa) simply lifted up Govardhana (*Govardhanoddhāraṁ*), this Indra uprooted *(unmūlita)* Meru, *i.e.* the Bāṇa ruler Vikramāditya Jayameru, with ease.[3] Thus Upendra, the Paramāra ruler has nothing to do with Upendra of the Nausārī inscription.[4]

Some scholars[5] believe that Upendra had another name *i.e.* Kṛṣṇarāja. But the only reason ascribed for this supposition is that Upendra was the founder of the line of the Paramāras of Malwa and in Muñja's land-grants, the pedigree of this family begins with Kṛṣṇarāja.[6] How weak this line of argument is may be seen by referring to some of the later records of the family in which the pedigree begins with Sīyaka II.[7] None maintains,

[1] See App. I.

[2] *EI*, XIX, p. 243.

[3] Meru, formerly supposed to have been a place-name by Kielhorn and Altekar, has now been satisfactorily identified with Vikramāditya Jayameru, the ruler of Bāṇa and Vaidamba territory. *Dr. Lakṣmaṇa Svarūp Commemoration Volume*, p. 297.

[4] For further details see our paper, *IHQ*, 1958, pp. 172-74.

[5] Cf. H.C. Ray, G.H. Ojha, Bühler, Cunningham and Hall.

[6] *IA*, VI, p. 51 ; *IA*, XIV, p. 160.

[7] Cf. Kalvan ins., *EI*, XIX, pp. 69-73 ; Ujjain plates of Bhoja, *IA*, VI, p. 53.

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however, that Sīyaka II and Upendra were identical. The synonymity of Upendra and Kṛṣṇa can, no doubt, be put forward in favour of the proposed identity. But Upendra or Viṣṇu has one thousand names. No two persons bearing these names can be regarded as identical, unless we have fairly convincing grounds to presume this identity, and in this case no such grounds exist.

Upendra proved a good ruler to the war-torn Malwa. Both the Udaipur *praśasti* and the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* state that Upendra was a king of great valour and was particularly famous for performing a multitude of sacrifices.[1] He lightened the burden of taxes, borne by his subjects[2] and patronized learning. The poetess Sītā, 'who made him the subject of her song',[3] may have been at his court.

The bards state that his favourite queen was called Lakṣmīdevī.[4] Upendra's reign came to a close approximately in 818 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Vairisiṁha I in Malwa and by another son Ḍaṁbarasiṁha in Vāgaḍa (the modern Bānswārā and Ḍūṅgarpur area), where he ruled as a feudatory of the house of Malwa.[5]

Vairisiṁha I : c. 818-43 A.D.

Vairisiṁha I succeeded his father in 818-19 A.D. or thereabout. His name is omitted in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, but the Udaipur *praśasti* says that he 'composed his own eulogy by (erecting) pillars of victory (everywhere) on the earth that is bounded by four oceans'.[6] This has to be taken as conventional praise, unless we assume that during the weak rule of Rāmabhadra Pratīhāra (833-36 A.D.), Vairisiṁha I increased his power to a considerable extent. But his success, if any, must have been short-lived for very soon Bhoja Pratīhāra came to the throne,[7]

[1] *EI*, I, p. 234, v. 7.
[2] *NC*, XI, vv. 76-78.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Luard and Lele, *The Paramāras of Dhāra and Malwa* (App. (C) to the *Dhāra State Gazetteer*, 1909), pp. 121-81.
[5] Arthuna ins., *EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310 ; *vide infra* Chap. XI.
[6] श्री वेरिसिंहश्चतुर्णवान्तधात्र्यां जयस्तम्भकृत प्रशस्तिः ॥ *EI*, I, p. 234.
[7] His earliest record is the Barāh copper plate which was issued in 836 A.D., *EI*, XIX, pp. 15-19.

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in whose time Malwa was, as already stated, a Pratīhāra dependency.[1]

Vairisiṁha I was succeeded by Sīyaka I in *c.* 843 A.D.

Sīyaka I : c. 843-68 A.D.

Sīyaka I is given only conventional praise in the Udaipur *praśasti*[2] and is not named in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. His reign, perhaps, came to a close in *c.* 868 A.D.

The unnamed ruler : c. 868-93 A.D.

Sīyaka I was succeeded by another ruler whose name is omitted in the Udaipur *praśasti* but whose existence may be assumed by the statement of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, which says that between Upendra and Vākpati I there were other rulers.[3] We maintain with Dr. Bühler that these 'other kings' were certainly not less than three in number, because the poet uses the term *narendra* neither in singular, nor in dual but in plural number.[4] His reign period may approximately be fixed between 868-93 A.D. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa II attacked Malwa[5] in *c.* 880 A.D. and was counter-attacked by Bhoja Pratīhāra, who pursued Kṛṣṇa II right upto the banks of the Narmada.[6] Perhaps the conduct of the Malwa ruler, who remains unnamed, during this conflict was far from creditable.

Kṛṣṇarāja alias Vākpati I : c. 893-918 A.D.

Kṛṣṇarāja *alias* Vākpati or Bappairāja[7] succeeded his predecessor some time about 893 A.D. He was a contemporary of the Pratīhāra rulers Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 892-908 A.D.),[8] Bhoja II[9] and Mahīpāla (*c.* 912-42 A.D.).[10] He must have been a

[1] See above pp. 29-31.
[2] *EI*, I, p. 234, v. 9.
[3] तस्मिन् गते नरेन्द्रेषु तदन्येषु गतेषु च ॥ *NC*, XI, v. 80.
[4] *IA*, XXXVI, p. 166 ; *vide infra* App. I.
[5] The Begumrā plates, *IA*, XIII, p. 68.
[6] The Bhavnagar Museum ins., *EI*, XIX, pp. 174-77 ; *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 147-50 ; also see above pp. 30-31.
[7] For the identity of these names see our App. I.
[8] *JIH*, XXXVIII, p. 605 ; *AIK*, p. 33.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 511-12.

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fairly important ruler for he is not only mentioned in the Udaipur *praśasti*, but is also the first ruler to be mentioned by name after Upendra in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. It is not without significance that the Harsola plates trace the donor's descent from Bappaiparāja *i.e.* Vākpatirāja.[1]

Padmagupta's description of this king is purely conventional.[2] Verse 10 of the Udaipur *praśasti*, however, describes him as the 'sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti'.[3] This probably proves his supreme hold over Avanti. He is compared with Śatamakha (Indra) for his military valour, and it is said that his armies drank the water of the *Gaṅgā-samudra*.[4] The explanation of this statement perhaps can only be that he as a feudatory chief of Mahendrapāla I, took part in the latter's conquests in Magadha and Vaṅga,[5] and in the course of these expeditions reached as far as the Bay of Bengal.

It is difficult to agree with H.C. Ray's contention that Vākpati I fought against the Pratīhāras from the side of Indra III and reached Kanauj with Indra's general, Narasiṁha.[6] Nor do we assume that Indra III passed through Ujjayinī during his northern campaigns and left Vākpati I in the possession of his patrimony after the defeat of the Pratīhāras. The only basis for this view so far has been the mention of the courtyard of Kālapriya as the place where Indra stabled his elephants on his way to Kanauj.[7] H.C. Ray, Altekar and Ganguly identified Kālapriya with Mahākāla of Ujjain.[8] But as the crossing of Yamunā took place immediately after the halt in the courtyard of Kālapriya, it is obvious that Kālapriya was on the banks of Yamunā. In other words, as suggested by V.V. Mirashi, 'it is identical with Kālpī in central India and lies on the road from Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed) to Kanauj'.[9] So there is obviously no

[1] *EI*, XIX, p. 242.
[2] *NC*, XI, vv. 80-82.
[3] *EI*, I, p. 234.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Mahendrapāla I is supposed to have conquered Magadha and a part of North Bengal. *AIK*, p. 33 ; *PGP*, pp. 69-70.
[6] *DHNI*, II, p. 846.
[7] See above p. 31, fn. 5.
[8] *AR*, p. 101 ; *GHP*, p. 32 : *DHNI*, II, p. 846.
[9] *MSI*, I, p. 41 ; see above pp. 30-31, fn. 5.

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basis for Indra's march through Malwa during the reign of Vākpati I.[1]

Kṛṣṇarāja *alias* Vākpati I is given the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* in the land-grants of Vākpati Muñja.[2] It may be that during the period of confusion resulting from the fratricidal struggle that followed the death of Mahendrapāla I Pratīhāra,[3] Kṛṣṇarāja who had already distinguished himself as a great general and had increased his military power, took advantage of the devastation created by the campaigns of Indra III whose armies reached as far as Prayāga and Kanauj,[4] and shook off the feudal yoke of the Pratīhāras. He declared his independence by assuming the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*. He is the first ruler of the Malwa line of the Paramāras to assume these titles.

The bards credit him with a campaign in Kāmarūpa (*i.e.* Assam) in which he is said to have been successful after twenty-seven days.[5] This bardic statement may be an account of his eastern campaign, already referred to above.

The name of his favourite queen is given as Kamalādevī.[6] His reign came to a close some time about 918 A.D.

Vairisiṁha II : c. 919-45 A.D.

Vairisiṁha II was also known as Vajraṭasvāmin.[7] He was a contemporary of Mahīpāla and Mahendrapāla II of the Pratīhāra dynasty.

Vairisiṁha II's reign appears to have witnessed many changes. Following in the footsteps of his father he increased the Paramāra influence and power by occupying Dhārā[8] during the early period of his reign. But the Paramāra power did not last long. Rājaśekhara's works show that Mahīpāla not merely regained his lost dominions but counter-attacked his enemies and rebels.

1 See above pp. 30-31.
2 *IA*, VI, pp. 51-52 ; *IA*, XIV, pp. 159-61.
3 *THK*, pp. 255-57 ; *PGP*, p. 81.
4 *EI*, IX, p. 31.
5 *Gazetteer of Dhāra State*, App. (C).
6 *Ibid.*
7 *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 11.
8 *Ibid.*

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in their own territories.[1] The people in the Vindhyan territories bowed before him. He was the very axe to the Kuntalas *i.e.* the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He attacked also the Ramaṭhas.[2] His reconquest of Malwa may be inferred from the Kahla plates according to which Bhāmana, the grandson of Bhoja I's feudatory Guṇambodhideva distinguished himself by the conquest of Dhārā.[3] As he was a petty local chief of the Kalachuris of Gorakhpur, he could have occupied Dhārā only as a feudatory of Bhoja's grandson, Mahīpāla.

Mahīpāla's victories brought about another change. The Pratīhāras took Malwa under their direct control, as is proved by the Pratābgarh inscription which mentions both Mandu and Ujjain as ruled over by the Pratīhāra officials in 946 A.D.[4] It must have been a fairly reduced territory over which the Paramāras ruled up to the later part of Sīyaka II's reign, when they regained their lost power and prestige.

Harṣa alias Sīyakadeva II : 945-72 A.D.

Vairisiṁha II was succeeded in about 945 A.D. by his son Harṣadeva[5] *alias* Sīyaka II[6] also called Siṁhadantabhaṭa,[7] the greatest among the early Paramāra rulers of Malwa. Sīyaka's accession marked a new turn in the history of his family. He ascended the throne at a time when Indian polity was passing through a period of transition—it was a period when old ruling dynasties were tumbling down, making way for new ones. In the north, with the death of Mahendrapāla II,[8] the days of the Pratīhāra glory were over. His son and successor Devapāla witnessed the assumption of independence by various parts of the erstwhile Pratīhāra empire one after the other. The Chandellas, the Chāhamānas, the Chedis, the Guhilas as well as the Paramāras threw off the yoke of the Pratīhāras. In the south,

1 *Bālabhārata,* I, 7.
2 *Ibid.* ; *JDL,* X, p. 63 ; *JIH,* XXXVIII, pp. 620-24.
3 *EI,* VII, pp. 85-93 ; *CII,* IV, ins. no. 74.
4 *EI,* XIV, pp. 176-88.
5 *Ibid.,* p. 299, v. 19 ; *EI,* I, p. 235, v. 13.
6 *EI,* XIX, pp. 236-43 ; *ibid.,* pp. 177-79.
7 *Pc,* p. 21.
8 He died sometime between 946 A.D. (which is the date of his Pratābgarh ins.) and 948 A.D. which is the earliest known date of his successor Devapāla. *AIK,* p. 813.

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the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas were still strong. But with a good deal of their energy directed to the far south, especially to their struggle with the Choḷas,[1] they must have found it difficult to play a decisive role in north Indian politics. The dismemberment of the Pratīhāra empire and the occupation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas largely with the south Indian affairs, offered a golden opportunity to Sīyaka II, who was not slow to make the best of the resulting situation.

As early as 949 A.D. we find Sīyaka II assuming the titles of *Mahārājādhirājapati* and *Mahāmaṇḍalikachūḍāmaṇi*[2] which show that by that time he had increased his power to a considerable extent, even though he kept on to the title of *Mahāmaṇḍalika* which then indicated only a feudatory chief.[3] Sīyaka II must have attained this new position by a series of successful campaigns waged against his neighbours, which we shall now describe.

According to the Harsola grant Sīyaka II, while returning after a successful expedition against Yogarāja, was encamped on the banks of the river Mahi on January 31st, 949 A.D.[4] There at the instance of the *adhipati* of Kheṭakamaṇḍala he invested Tiruki (?) and made a grant of the villages Kumbhāroṭaka and Sīhakā in the Mohaḍavāsaka-*viṣaya* (*i.e.* in the Prantej Taluk of Ahmedabad Dist.) in favour of some Brāhmaṇas.[5]

Yogarāja's territory must have been to the west of the river Mahi and of Kheṭakamaṇḍala which was in the possession of Sīyaka II.[6] This Yogarāja has been identified with Avanivarman II of the Chālukya family of Saurāṣṭra, who was perhaps the feudatory chief of the Pratīhāras.[7] As the Maukharsi

[1] Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 131-34.

[2] *EI*, XIX, p. 242.

[3] *Vide infra* Chap. XIII.

[4] *EI*, XIX, p. 238.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 242, vv. 8-16 of Grant A and vv. 10-16 of Grant B.

[6] It was being governed perhaps by an officer of Sīyaka II on behalf of the latter. This governor is not named in the grant but is simply mentioned as the *adhipati* of Kheṭakamaṇḍala.

[7] It is generally assumed that the ruler Yoga defeated by Sīyaka II was Avanivarman II (Yoga) for whom we have an inscription dated 899 A.D. (*EI*, IX, pp. 6-10 ; *GHP*, p. 39, fn. 5).

His defeat at the hands of Sīyaka II, if it ever took place, falls nearly 56 years later, which is rather an unusually long rule. We hear nothing

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and the later Guptas, once the feudatories of the imperial Guptas, fought amongst themselves after the decline of the imperial power, so did the feudatories of the imperial Pratīhāras, each with the intention of aggrandising himself at the cost of his neighbour. To explain the fight between Sīyaka II and Yogarāja it should not be assumed that one was a feudatory of the Pratīhāras and the other of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[1] In his bid for supremacy and power Sīyaka II seems to have, in alliance with the *adhipati* of Kheṭakamaṇḍala, attacked Yogarāja and inflicted a crushing defeat on his adversary.[2]

According to the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Sīyaka II launched a campaign against the Hūṇas, slaughtered their princes and 'turned their harems into the dwelling place for the consecration of widowhood'.[3]

As to the locality of the Hūṇas, nothing is known. There are various references to the Hūṇas in medieval Indian literature and inscriptions. It seems that of the Hūṇa principalities, there were more than one.[4] The Hūṇa principality mentioned by Padmagupta and in various Paramāra inscriptions, which speak of the defeat of the Hūṇa princes at the hands of Sīyaka II and his sons Vākpati II and Sindhurāja,[5] could not have been far away from the boundary of the Paramāra kingdom. On the basis of the Gaonri plates of Vākpati II,[6] it is possible even

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of Yoga after 899 A.D. and though this silence by itself can be no strong argument against his identification with Yoga defeated by Sīyaka II, we have to be doubtful about the certainty of such an identification. In the text, however, we have tentatively presumed the possible correctness of such an assumption because nothing very decisive can be urged against it. Rulers are known to have ruled for even 60 to 70 years.

1 For such an assumption see *GHP*, p. 39.

Not only the Paramāras and the Chaulukyas clashed with each other, but the same was the story of the Paramāras and the Chandellas, the Chandellas and the Chedis, the Chālukyas and the Chāpas, the Chāhamānas and the Tomaras etc. All of them had accepted the suzerainty of the Pratīhāras at one time or the other.

2 *EI*, XIX, p. 242, vv. 9 and 13.

3 *NC*, XI, v. 90.

4 There was one in N.W. India which is referred to in the *Harṣacharita*, Chap. V.

5 *Vide infra* Chap. V.

6 *EI*, XXIII, pp. 101-13.

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to state that it was perhaps in central India, somewhere to the south-east of the Paramāra kingdom. Gaonri, the find-spot of the copper-plates of Vākpati II, which refer to the village Vaṇikāgrāma in Āvarkabhoga as existing in the Hūṇamaṇḍala, is not very far from Indore, and Grant C of the Gaonri inscription also refers to territories in the region adjoining Indore and Mhow.[1] It is therefore not unlikely that Vaṇikāgrāma (which was situated in the Hūṇamaṇḍala) may not have been very far from Gaonri (*i.e.* near Indore) and the grant may have been made not long after the defeat of the Hūṇas and the annexation of their territory by the Paramāra rulers. Perhaps the territory had been annexed by Sīyaka II, who is said to have slaughtered the Hūṇa princes.

This suggested location of the Hūṇamaṇḍala near Indore and the territory lying immediately south of it, is confirmed also by references to the Hūṇas in a Chedi inscription.[2] The Hūṇa principality may have been a buffer state between the Paramāra and the Chedi territories. In that case we have to put the Hūṇamaṇḍala somewhere in Hoshangabad District or Vindhyan areas adjacent to Mhow and probably to the north of the river Narmada.[3]

According to the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Sīyaka II's second warlike achievement was the defeat of the 'lord of Raḍupāṭi',[4] a territory which has been variously read as Rudrapāṭi, Ruḍapadi and Tardapāṭi.[5] The reading Rudrapāṭi, probably, is a Sanskritized amendation of the non-Sanskrit word 'Raḍupāṭi'

[1] *EI*, XXIII, p. 102.

[2] Karṇa Chedi married the Hūṇa princess, Āvalladevī, at about this time. *CII*, IV, Intro., pp. cii, clxv, ins. nos. 56 and 57, v. 15.

[3] Dr. Ganguly puts the Hūṇamaṇḍala to the north-west of Malwa and thinks that the Hūṇa chief defeated by Sīyaka II was a successor of Jajjapa, a Hūṇa prince supposed to have been defeated by Balavarman, the father of Yogarāja of Saurāṣṭra (*EI*, IX, p. 8, v. 17 ; *GHP*, p. 40). But as Balavarman was a Pratīhāra feudatory and could be sent to fight against the enemies of the Pratīhāra empire in any part of the country, it is difficult to identify the Hūṇa chief or his principality on the basis of this reference. It may as well be or may not be the Hūṇa principality against which the Paramāras as well as the Chedis came into hostile contact.

[4] *NC*, XI, v. 89.

[5] Śāstri, Śrīkaṇṭha, *Sources of Ancient Karnāṭaka History*, I, p. 115.

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or 'Ruḍapadi', read as such by Bühler.[1] We do not know on which grounds, Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri has turned the word into Tardapāṭi.

A territory called Roḍapādi is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription from Bhilsa, wherein Vāchaspati, the minister of king Kṛṣṇa, is said to have restored the chiefs of Rālāmaṇḍala and Roḍapādi to their dominions.[2] Scholars have differed among themselves regarding the identification of these places. Rālā is identified with Lāṭa (*i.e.* Gujarat) as well as Lāḍha which is a part of Bengal ;[3] and while one scholar would regard Vāchaspati's master Kṛṣṇa as Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa,[4] another would identify him with Kṛṣṇa, a younger brother of the Chandella ruler Dhaṅga.[5] As Vāchaspati, the minister of Kṛṣṇa, however, comes to Bhaillasvāmin (*i.e.* Bhilsa), which was then under Dhaṅga,[6] to offer his adoration to the Sun-god, the latter identification seems to be the more probable of the two. And in that case *Rālā* may be Lāṭa and Roḍapādi or Ruḍapadi an area in which both the Paramāras and the Chandellas might have been interested. As Vāchaspati is said to have restored the chief of Roḍapādi to his throne, should we assume that the chief restored was the one defeated by Sīyaka II and perhaps even deposed ?

D.C. Ganguly has made two suggestions regarding the location of Ruḍapadi of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. In the text of his *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, he identifies Ruḍapadi with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom,[7] perhaps on the basis of Fleet's statement that 'Ruda' or 'Rudu' is a misreading for Raṭṭa, and the reference is to the lord of Raṭṭapāḍi the territory of the Raṭṭas, *i.e.* the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[8] But later Ganguly changed his opinion and referring to Cunningham,[9] concluded that Ruḍapadi was identical with Roḍapādi, a province which was

[1] *IA*, XXXVI, p. 168.
[2] *PRAS, WC*, 1913-14, p. 59 ; *JASB*, XXXI, p. 111 ; *MSI*, II, p. 221.
[3] *HB*, I, p. 36.
[4] *EI*, XXIX, p. 21 ; *JOR*, XXII, pp. 56-63.
[5] *MSI*, II, p. 226.
[6] *IA*, XVIII, p. 237.
[7] *GHP*, p. 42.
[8] *EI*, VII, p. 217.
[9] *ASR* (Cunn.), IX, p. 104.

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supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Ḍāhalamaṇḍala and Malwa.[1] The conclusion is reasonable, but as the reference of Cunningham given by Ganguly says nowhere that Ruḍapadi was near Ḍāhalamaṇḍala, we have yet to find some clearer and unambiguous evidence to be sure of the exact location of Ruḍapadi. All that can be said at present is that it was probably somewhere near the eastern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom.

The Khajurāho inscription dated 956 A.D. claims that Yaśovarman Chandella was like the 'God of death' to the Mālavas (*kālavān Mālavanāṁ*).[2] The same inscription registers the fact that in V.S. 1013=956 A.D., the Chandella kingdom extended as far as Bhāsavat (*i.e.* Bhilsa), which was situated on the bank of the river Betwa (Vetrāvatī in Malwa).[3] Further we are told by the Dudahi inscription that Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇanṛpa, son of Yaśovarman and younger brother of Dhaṅga, was ruling over the south-western portion of the Chandella kingdom, extending from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsa in the south.[4] On the basis of these statements, Mr. Venkataramayya suggests that the Chandellas at this time encroached upon the territory of the Mālavas *i.e.* that of Sīyaka II.[5] Though we may not agree fully with the statement that the extension of the Chandella kingdom up to Bhilsa meant enrchoachment on Sīyaka II's territory, for we know nothing about the extent of Sīyaka II's kingdom at this time ; it is, as we have seen, not unlikely that the Chandella intervention in the affairs of Lāṭa and Ruḍapadi might have led to a conflict between the two which, whatever its results might have been, gives the bard an opportunity to call Yaśovarman, 'a death-god to the Mālavas'.

Sīyaka II's greatest achievement was, however, achieved by the end of his reign when he captured and sacked Mānyakheṭa, the proud capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, thus, giving a shattering blow to the prestige and power of this great imperial power. The reasons for this conflict, though nowhere given explicitly, are yet not very difficult to seek.

[1] *GHP*, App. III, p. ii.
[2] *EI*, I, p. 126, v. 23.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 129, v. 45.
[4] *IA*, XVIII, p. 237.
[5] *EI*, XXIX, p. 26,

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We have seen above that Kheṭakamaṇḍala (modern Kaira and a part of modern Ahmedabad District in N. Gujarat) was under the government of Sīyaka II, who issued his Harsola grant from there in 949 A.D.[1] Shortly prior to Sīyaka II's occupation of Kheṭakamaṇḍala this territory has been under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[2] Sīyaka II may have occupied the territory of Kheṭakamaṇḍala after defeating a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory,[3] while Kṛṣṇa III was busy in his southern campaigns.[4] This was an act of naked aggression and direct encroachment on the Raṣṭrakūṭa territory by Sīyaka II. Kṛṣṇa III might have, during the course of his northern campaigns, tried to reconquer these areas, though we have no clear evidence on this point.[5] But even if he did not do that Sīyaka II acted according to the accepted Hindu ideal of *vīrabhogyāvasuṁdharā* and attacked the

[1] *EI*, XIX, pp. 236-43.

[2] From the Kāpaḍvanj grant of Kṛṣṇa II, dated 910 A.D. (*EI*, I, pp. 52-58; BG, I, pt. I, p. 129), we know that Pracaṇḍa of the Brahmavāka family had gained the principality of Kheṭakamaṇḍala by the favour of the Raṣṭrakūṭa king Akālavarṣa and was ruling at Harṣapura (*i.e.* Harsola). The region perhaps continued under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, since the Begumrā plates of Indra III, dated 914 A.D. (*EI*, IX, pp. 24-41) and the Cambay plates of Govinda III, dated 930 A.D. (*EI*, VII, pp. 26-47), record the gifts made by them in Lāṭadeśa.

[3] Perhaps a successor of Pracaṇḍa of Brahmavāka family.

[4] Śastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 157ff.

[5] It was previously assumed on the basis of the Maser inscription (*EI*, XXIX, p. 21) and Bhilsa inscription (*PRAS, WC*, 1913-14, p. 59; *JASB*, XXXI, p. 111), that Kṛṣṇa III defeated Sīyaka II. But with the general acceptance now of the identification of Kṛṣṇa of these inscriptions with Kṛṣṇa Chandella and not Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, this old view has to be given up (*MSI*, II, pp. 215-19).

Kalachuri Lakṣmaṇarāja II is said to have carried his arms as far as Lāṭa and Somanātha Pāṭan in Saurāṣṭra (*CII*, IV, p. 221, v. 61). Mirashi thinks that Lakṣmaṇarāja II undertook his western campaign in order to help his relative Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa in the latter's struggle against the Pratīhāras some time after 946 A.D. He also opines that on this occasion Lakṣmaṇarāja marched through the country of Malwa. (*MSI*, II, pp. 225-26).

We would like to point out that there is nothing to warrant Lakṣmaṇarāja's passing through the enemy country of Malwa. He may have followed a southern route, through the Tapti-Narmada valley which was not infested with enemies and hence was more convenient. Lakṣmaṇarāja may have gone to Lāṭa in order to help his ally Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III whose authority was threatened there by Sīyaka II.

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Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom, when on the death of Kṛṣṇa III in 968 A.D. it passed away into the incapable hands of Khoṭṭigadeva. Sīyaka II could not forbear the temptation of striking at the waning power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We learn from the inscriptions that Sīyaka II 'equalling the Garuḍa in fierceness took in battle the *lakṣmī* of king Khoṭṭigadeva'[1] at Khalighaṭṭa[2] on the banks of the river Narmada.[3] During his this bold venture, Sīyaka II's relative Kaṁkadeva of Vāgaḍa died fighting bravely on his side,[4] though not before he had broken the hostile resistance of the enemy. Advancing from here Sīyaka II marched upto Mānyakheṭa, captured and sacked it in V.S. 1029=972 A.D.[5] The imperial treasury of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was completely looted and the raider carried away even the office copies of the copper-plate charters lodged in the records office.[6]

Sīyaka II's patrimony consisted only of a part of Malwa, perhaps of the territory round about Dhārā. But he with the strength of his own sword was able to enlarge this small principality into a strong and well-knit kingdom, which by the end of his reign extended from Bānswārā in the north upto the river Narmada in the south, from Kheṭakamaṇḍala (*i.e.* modern Kaira and part of Ahmedabad Dist.) in the west upto Bhilsa on the east. His capital must have been in Malwa. Though there is no reference to this effect, yet it can be inferred from the Harsola grants according to which Sīyaka II was encamped on the banks of river Mahi on his way back after defeating Yogarāja. This shows that Sīyaka II was moving towards the east *i.e.* Malwa. If this be so then the rulers of the

[1] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 13.

[2] *ASI*, 1916-17, pt. I, p. 19 ; *EI*, XXI, p. 47.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *EI*, XIV, p. 299 ; *EI*, XXI, p. 47 ; *vide infra* Chap. XI, Sect. the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa.

[5] The poet Dhanapāla, in the concluding verses of the *Pāiyalachchhī*, states that he completed his work 'when one thousand years of the Vikrama era and twenty-nine besides had passed and at the time when Mānyakheṭa was plundered in consequence of an attack by the lord of Malwa'. *Pāiyalachchhī* (ed. by Bühler), Intro., p. 6 and vv. 276-78.

[6] *EI*, XXIII, p. 101 ; *vide ante* Chap. II.

We, however, do not agree with M. Venkataramayya who puts the defeat of Sīyaka II by Kesarin during the reign of Khoṭṭiga and the sack of Mānyakheṭa during the period of Vākpati Muñja (*EI*, XXIX, p. 26), in the light of the evidence to the contrary, discussed above.

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territories lying between Kheṭakamaṇḍala and Mālwa, must have either owed allegiance to Sīyaka II or must have been within the sphere of his influence.

With the meagre evidence that we possess, it is not possible to give an accurate estimate of Sīyaka II's character. But it would not be wrong to state that he was a successful soldier and a skilful general who fought on all the frontiers of his kingdom. He secured large slices of territory both from the Pratīhāra as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires. He was the real initiator of Paramāra imperialism—imperialism that was to attain maturity during the reigns of his sons and grandson.

Sīyaka II seems to have abdicated his throne in favour of his son Vākpatirāja II,[1] shortly after his return from his southern expedition. Sīyāka II was ruling in 972 A.D.[2] and the first known date of his successor is V.S. 1031=974 A.D.[3] Sīyaka II, therefore, closed his reign some time between the years 972-74 A.D. His queen's name was Vaḍajā.[4] Besides Vākpati II, Sīyaka II had another son, named Sindhurāja, who succeeded Vākpatirāja II.

[1] Padmagupta tells us that in the later part of his reign, the king adopted the life of an ascetic and devoted himself exclusively to the practice of religious austerities. *NC*, XI, v. 88.

[2] See above p. 44, fn. 5

[3] *IA*, VI, pp. 51-52.

[4] *NC*, XI, v. 88.

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CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF PARAMĀRA IMPERIALISM

Vākpati II : 974-c.994 A.D.

Vākpati II also known as Muñja[1] and Utpala,[2] succeeded his father Sīyaka II[3] some time before 974 A.D.[4] He assumed the titles of *Pṛthvīvallabha, Śrīvallabha* and *Amoghavarṣa*[5] not, as assumed by D.C. Ganguly, because the Paramāras were the descendants of the imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas,[6] but because they being the vanquishers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas considered themselves to be the rightful claimants of the imperial epithets and titles which had so far been used by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[7]

The Paramāra kingdom was, at this time, surrounded by a number of newly established powers, which were as ready as ever to fight the age-old battles of supremacy with the same old

[1] (a) The Paramāra ruler Arjunavarman in his commentary on the *Amaruśataka*, known as the *Rasikasañjīvinī*, states that Vākpatirāja, otherwise known as Muñja was his predecessor, '*Asmatpūrvajasya Vākpatirājā-paranāmno Muñjadevasya*'. *Amaruśataka*, p. 23.

(b) In the Nagpur *praśasti*, too, he is described as Muñja, the predecessor of Sindhurāja. *EI*, II, p. 184, v. 23.

(c) Merutuṅga, the author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* uses Muñja as the name of Vākpati II.

[2] The authorship of a verse ascribed to Utpalarāja by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra is attributed to Vākpatirāja by Vallabhadeva. *Vide infra* App. VII.

[3] We can hardly credit Merutuṅga's story that Vākpati II was a foundlīng and that he was named Muñja on account of having been picked up by Siṁhadantabhaṭa (*i.e.* Sīyaka II) from a clump of *muñja* grass (*Pc*, p. 21).

There is no evidence in the contemporary records, Paramāra as well as non-Paramāra to prove that Vākpati II was a foundling. The *NC* speaks of him as the elder brother of Sindhurāja. *NC*, I, v. 8 ; *ibid.*, XI, v. 92.

[4] The date of Vākpati II's grant from Ujjain, *IA*, VI, pp. 51-52.

[5] *IA*, XIV, p. 160.

[6] *GHP*, p. 9.

[7] Mark for instance the assumption of the titles *Aśvapati, Rājapati, Narapati* and *Rājatrayādhipati* by Govindachandra after his defeat of the Kalachuris.

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instruments and outworn methods, even though the Turks were now almost at the north-western gates of India. In the south, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had been displaced by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī whose ruler Tailapa II was busy adding to and consolidating his gains. In the east, the Kalachuris of Tripurī were coming to the forefront. In the north-east, the Chandellas under Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga were raiding lands from Bengal to Malwa and from the Himālayas to the Vindhyas ; they were more powerful than their nominal suzerains, the Pratīhāras of Kanauj. On the north-western and western borders of Malwa, the most important powers were the Chāhamānas of Śākambhrī and Nāḍol, the Guhilas of Mewar and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. In Malwa itself the Paramāras were not merely fully entrenched in power but ever ready to take any challenge and keen on establishing their supremacy in every sphere—political, intellectual, as well as cultural. In the person of Vākpati II, a prince of unprecedented valour, the Paramāras found a worthy representative, who ably implemented the imperialist policy initiated by his father, Sīyaka II, and gave Malwa a high place also in the field of culture, thus establishing the claim of the Paramāras to be ranked among the leading contemporary powers of northern India.

Early in the beginning of his career, Vākpati II came in conflict with the Guhilas of Mewar, his contemporary Guhila prince being Śaktikumāra, the son and successor of Śālivāhana.[1] Vākpati II is said to have destroyed Āghaṭa, the pride of Medapāṭa and caused the Guhila prince to flee from the battlefield and take shelter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī.[2] As a result of this victory, the eastern part of Mewar, where stood the famous fortress of Chitor, and the territory adjoining Malwa were annexed to the Paramāra dominions.[3]

Among the allies of Śaktikumāra was perhaps a Gurjara ruler whose plight was specially pitiable. Hard pressed by the victors, the Gurjara chief left the battlefield and fled with his

[1] Raychoudhuri, G.C., *History of Mewar*, pp. 40-42.

[2] भंक्त्वाघाटं घटाभिः प्रकटमिव मदं मेदपाटे भटानां
जल्पे राजन्यजल्पे जनयति जनताजं रणं मुंजराजे ॥ Bijapur ins. of Dhavala, *EI*, X, p. 20.

[3] The Paramāra ascendancy in Mewar was not seriously challenged till the middle of the 11th century A.D., *Nāgarī Pracharinī Patrikā*, III, p. 5; *vide infra* Chaps. VI and VII.

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family to the desert of Marwar. His armies, bereft of a leader, sought refuge with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī.[1] The sorry state to which the Gurjara and his household were reduced is thus described by Vākpati II's court-poet, Padmagupta :

"He neither eats nor drinks water ; he keeps not the society of women ; he lies on the sand, puts away from himself all worldly pleasures and courts the hottest sun. O, lion of the house of Malwa, it seems to me that this Gurjara king is doing penance in Marwar, so that he may be found worthy to have a particle of that *prasāda*, which is the dust of thy feet.

"The silly Gurjara queen, as she wanders terror stricken in the jungle, even and anon to cast her eyes on her husband's sword, to see if there be no water *(dhārā)* there, for often in the past she had heard the bards say, 'Great king, the hosts of your foes have gone down in the battle through which your swords edge *(dhārā)* swept'."[2]

D.C. Ganguly and D. Sharma think that the Gurjara ruler, defeated by Vākpati II, was Mūlarāja Chaulukya of Gujarat.[3] D.C. Ganguly goes a step further and assumes that Mūlarāja was, for some time, deprived of his kingdom by the Paramāras. But in the 10th century A.D. the word Gurjara was in common use for the Gurjara Pratīhāras only. It was only in the 12th century A.D. that the Chaulukyas came to be known as the Gurjaras, they being the new masters of Gurjaratara. The Gurjara ally of the Guhila prince and the adversary of Vākpati II may, therefore, have been Vijayapāla, a weak successor of Mahīpāla of Kanauj, who ruled between 959-89 A.D.[4] It is significant to note here

[1] *EI*, X, p. 20, vv. 9-10.

[2] आहारं न करोति नांबु पिबति स्त्रैणं न संसेवते
शेते यत्सिकतासु मुक्तविषयश्चंडातपं सेवते ।
त्वत्पादाब्जरजः प्रसादकणिकालाभोत्सुखस्तन्मरौ
मन्ये मालवसिंह गूर्जरपतिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते ॥
मग्नानि द्विषतां कुलानि समरे त्वत्खड्गधाराकुले
नाथास्मिन्निति वंदिवाचि बहुशो देव श्रुतायां पुरा ।
मुग्धा गूर्जरभूमिपालमहिषी प्रत्याशया पाथसः
कांतारे चकिता विमुंचति मुहुः पत्युः कृपाणे दृशौ ॥

JBBRAS, XVI, pp. 173-74; *Auchityavichāracharchā*, in *The Minor Works of Kṣemendra*, p. 13.

[3] *GHP*, pp. 53-54 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

[4] *THK*, pp. 275-76 ; *PGP*, pp. 97-98.

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that Ujjain was under the occupation of the Gurjara Pratīhāras upto 946 A.D.,[1] but it definitely came under the control of the Paramāras sometime before 973 A.D., when we find Vākpati II issuing his land-grant from Ujjain.[2] It is, therefore, not unlikely that it was Vākpati II, who after defeating the Gurjara Pratīhāra ruler Vijayapāla, occupied Ujjain, thus extending the boundary of his patrimony.

A.K. Majumdar thinks that the Gurjara adversary of Vākpati II, whom he also indentifies with some Gurjara Pratīhāra ruler, though on grounds different from mine, must have been killed on the battlefield since the Bijapur inscription uses the word *vinaṣṭe* for the Gurjara.[3] But the whole sentence as it stands *i.e.* '. . . *māne[pra]ṇaṣte-hariṇa iva bhiyā Gurjareśe viṇṣte*'[4] should mean that the Gurjara ruler out of fear ran away like a deer; and not that the Gurjara was killed.[5]

Vākpati II's victory over the Guhilas brought him face to face with the Chāhamānas of Marwar. Padmagupta sang of Vākpati II's fame as 'causing the pearls in the necklaces of Marwar women to dance'.[6] Padmagupta's evidence is

[1] *EI*, XIV, pp. 182-88.
[2] *IA*, VI, pp. 51-52.
[3] Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
[4] v. 10 of the Bijapur ins., *EI*, X, p. 20.
[5] The root *naś* in the sense of 'to run away' is common enough in Jaina Sanskrit. For the use of नश् in this sense see—

न हु एगम्मि विनट्ठे सव्वोहि तारिसो मुणे य च्चो।
जइ कायरा पणट्ठा (विनट्ठा—A) ता किं सूरा वि नासंति ॥ *Jñānapaṁchamīkathā*, p. 155.

इत्युपादाय तद्वरत्नाभरणानि स तस्करः
तां वलत्कलत्रधरः पश्यन् नश्यति रसं कुरङ्गवत् ॥ *Sthavirāvalīcharita*, p. 102, 625.

तदा मे करभो विद्धो बाणेना नतपर्वणा।
स प्रणष्टः क्षणेनैव स बाणो मम पश्यतः।
तं द्रवन्तमनुप्राप्तो वनमेतद्यदृच्छया ॥ *Skanda, Avanti*, I, 73, 25.

It is used in the same sense in some of the modern Indian languages too *i.e.* Rājasthānī, Punjābī etc.

[6] तत्रस्थितं स्थितिमता वरदेव दवा-
द्भृत्येन ते चकितचित्तमियं यहानि।
उत्कंपिनि स्तनतटे हरिणेक्षणानां
हारान् प्रनर्त्तयति यत्र भवत्प्रतापः ॥ *JBBRAS*, XVI, p. 174.

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corroborated by the testimony of the Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V, who was no friend of the Paramāras. It says, 'the people of Marwar trembled at the approach of Utpala'[1] which, as we know, was one of the names of Vākpati II.

On the other hand, the Sevāḍi plates of Ratnapāla (1119 A.D.) call Śobhita Chāhamāna of Nāḍol as the lord of Dhārā.[2] Śobhita's successor Balirāja also claims to have defeated the army of Muñja *i.e.* Vākpati II.[3] It seems that in the early phase of the struggle between the Paramāras and the Chāhamānas, the latter gained some success against the Paramāras. But Vākpati II soon recovered from this reverse and pushed back the Chāhamānas from his frontiers. Three rulers of the Chāhamāna family of Nāḍol *viz* Śobhita, Balirāja and Vigrahapāla died within a short period of fourteen years[4] while Vākpati II was on the throne of Malwa. As we know from their own inscriptions that they were all along fighting against the Paramāras,[5] we are led to suspect that the death of these Chāhamāna rulers might not in every case have been due to natural causes; but due to their conflict with the Paramāras of Malwa.[6]

About this time Vākpati II defeated also the Hūṇas, probably the same people that his father had to deal with.[7] The Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V describes Vākpati II as the destroyer of the Hūṇas.[8] From Vākpati II's Gaonri inscription we know that he granted the village Vaṇikā situated in the Hūṇamaṇḍala[9] to certain Brāhmaṇas. It is, therefore, obvious that at least some portion of the Hūṇa principality was annexed to the Paramāra kingdom by this time. Vākpati II's success against the Hūṇas, however, did not prove decisive for his successor Sindhurāja, as we shall see later, had to fight against them.[10]

1 *IA*, XVI, p. 23, ll. 41-42.
2 *EI*, XI, p. 309.
3 *EI*, IX, p. 75, v. 7.
4 In 982 A.D. Śobhita's predecessor Lakṣmaṇa was on the throne (*EI*, XI, p. 67) and Vigrahapāla's successor Mahendra ascended the throne sometime before 996 A.D. Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 123.
5 See above fns. 2 and 3.
6 Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 123, fn. 26.
7 *Vide ante* Chap. IV.
8 *IA*, XVI, p. 23, 1.41 ; *EI*, XII, p. 276.
9 *EI*, XXIII, pp. 101-13.
10 See below pp. 60-61.

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D.C. Ganguly believes that during his military excursions, Vākpati II 'must have conquered Mt. Abu which stood in his line of approach to Mārwād' and extended his authority as far as Kirādū.[1] He further puts forward the ingenious theory that Vākpati II established Paramāra settlements in his newly acquired territory which he divided among the princes of the Paramāra royal blood. Vākpati II is believed to have appointed his sons Āraṇyarāja and Chandana to look after the administration of Abu and Jalor respectively, while his nephew Dūśala was assigned the government of Kirāḍū.[2] This view, though accepted by H.C. Ray[3] and K.M. Munshi,[4] has proved to be fallacious, its only basis being the similarity of the names of some ruling chiefs.

The conquest of Mt. Abu by Vākpati II cannot be inferred from his expedition of Marwar, for Abu territory does not lie directly in the way from Malwa to Marwar. There are many other direct ways, equally good or even better by which Vākpati II could have gone to Marwar without attacking Mt. Abu, which was then being ruled over by another line of the Paramāras.[5] Nor can the conquest of Abu by Vākpati II, who was known also as Utpala, be established on the ground that many Abu inscriptions mention Utpalarāja, as the founder of the Abu line of the Paramāras,[6] for this Utpalarāja was the fourth in the lineal ascent from Dharaṇīvarāha,[7] whose predecessor Kṛṣṇarāja was on the throne in 967 A.D.,[8] and whose son and successor Mahīpāla ruled in 1002 A.D.[9] It is then this Dharaṇīvarāha who must have ruled sometime between 967 A.D. and 1002 A.D., and not his great grand-father Utpalarāja, who may be the Abu prince who ruled contemporaneously with Vākpati II (974 A.D. —*c.* 997 A.D.). This fact may be deduced also from Dhavala's inscription dated 997 A.D., describing the latter as giving refuge to Dharaṇīvarāha, whose power had been completely

1 *GHP*, pp. 22, 52, 298.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *DHNI*, II, pp. 854, 909, 924.
4 *GG*, III, p. 113.
5 *Vide infra* Chap. XI.
6 Cf. The Vasantagarh ins. of Pūrṇapāla, *EI*, IX, pp. 10-15.
7 *EI*, XXXII, pp. 135-38.
8 *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 122.
9 *EI*, XXII, p. 197; *vide infra* Chap. XI.

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shattered by Mūlarāja,[1] the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat (*c.* 941-996 A.D.). Śobhita, the Chāhamāna ruler of Nāḍol and a contemporary of Vākpati II,[2] is also said to have taken away the glory of the lord of Mt. Arbuda,[3] who has been generally identified with this Dharaṇīvarāha.[4] As Āraṇayarāja who was the grandfather of this Dharaṇīvarāha would have flourished about two generations earlier than Vākpati II of Malwa, it is obviously impossible to agree with D.C. Ganguly who regards Āraṇayarāja as a son of Vākpati II.[5] We have to bear also in mind that it was a chief named Sindhurāja who was actually the founder of the Paramāra family of Abu and not Utpalarāja[6]

We are not sure also of Chandana being a son of Vākpati II. Chandana's father, no doubt, was a chief named Vākpati,[7] but this was a name common enough in those days. Neither epigraphy nor tradition tells us that Vākpati II had any son. Most probably he died without any male issue and was for this reason succeeded first by his younger brother and then by his nephew Bhoja.[8]

We may disagree also with D.C. Ganguly's view that Vākpati II appointed his nephew Dūśala,[9] a son of Sindhurāja, as the chief of Kirāḍū. He has based his contention on the Kirāḍū inscription of Someśvara dated 1161 A.D., wherein the genealogy of the Paramāras of Kirāḍū begins with Sindhurāja,[10] who has been taken as the brother of Vākpati II.[11] It is doubtful

1 *EI*, X, p. 21, v. 12.

2 See above p. 50.

3 *EI*, IX, p. 75 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 122.

4 *Ibid.*, fn. 13.

5 For more datails see our paper in *IHQ*, 1958, pp. 174-76.

6 *Vide infra* Chap. XI.

7 Jalor ins. of Vīśala, *IA*, LXII, p. 41.

8 According to Merutuṅga (*Pc*, p. 25) Bhoja was the immediate successor of Vākpati II. According to Dhanapāla (*Tilakamañjarī*, I, v. 42), Vākpati II was so fond of Bhoja that he had him anointed as his Yuvarāja. That actually Vākpati II was succeeded by Sindhurāja is warranted by the *NC* and some Paramāra inscriptions. If Vākpati II had any son, we should have found some reference to him, if not in the inscriptions of the main line then in the *Prabandhas* at least.

9 Read as Usa(tpa)la by D.R. Bhandarkar. *NII*, no. 132.

10 *IA*, LXI, pp. 135-36.

11 *GHP*, p. 23.

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whether the name of Sindhurāja's successor should be read as Dūśala, but even if the reading be accepted, it is certain that this Sindhurāja of the Kirāḍū inscription, entitled as the *Mahārāja* of Marumaṇḍala is different from Sindhurāja of Malwa who ruled between *c.* 997 A.D. and 1010 A.D. Sindhurāja of Kirāḍū, who was 10th in the lineal ascent from Someśvara (1161 A.D.) must, on the other hand, have flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D. or so, and his son (whether he was Dūśala or Us(tpa)la, a little later, *i.e.* about 900 A.D. or so.[1] Obviously D.C. Ganguly was mislead by the similarity of names. Actually, as we have shown elsewhere, the Paramāra family of Kirāḍū was an offshoot of the Abu Paramāras and its founder was Sōchchharāja, the son of Kṛṣṇarāja II of Chandrāvatī.[2]

(1) Vākpati II's next blow fell on the Kalachuri ruler Yuvarāja II, whose sister Bonṭhādevī was the mother of Tailapa II Chālukya, a lifelong enemy of Vākpati II. The prestige of the Kalachuris reached its nadir when Yuvarāja II was completely routed by Vākpati II, who captured the Chedi capital Tripurī. The Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that Vākpati II defeated Yuvarāja, slew his generals and held his sword on high at Tripurī.[3] But Vākpati II, perhaps, did not remain very long in occupation of the Kalachuri capital[4] for he soon found himself involved in a protracted struggle against his southern enemies.

It was probably after his victories and conquests in the north that Vākpati II turned his attention towards the south. The Udaipur *praśasti* speaks of the homage paid to him by the rulers of Lāṭa, Karṇāṭa, Chola and Kerala.[5] It is rather too general a statement to carry conviction. Vākpati II may never have reached the Chola and Kerala countries which lay beyond the Karṇāṭa dominions. The statement in their case may mean nothing more than that the Cholas and Keralas sought Vākpati II's

[1] *Vide infra* Chap. XI.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] युवराजं विजित्य जौ हत्वा तद्वाहिनीपतीन्।
खड्गमूर्ध्वीकृत येन त्रिपुर्यां विजिगीषुणा ॥१५॥ *EI*, I, p. 235.

[4] V.V. Mirashi suggests that Vākpati II may have made peace with the Kalachuris and returned to his kingdom. *CII*, IV, Intro., p. xxxvii.

[5] कर्णाटलाटकेरलचोलशिरो रत्नरागिपद कमलः
यश्च प्रणयिगणार्थितदाता कल्पद्रमप्रख्यः ॥१४॥ *EI*, I, p. 235.

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help against their enemies.[1] But we know for certain that he fought against the Karṇāṭas. The fight against the Lāṭas also is likely, in fact fully probable, not only because Lāṭa was so close to Malwa but also because it was being ruled over by the descendants of a chief named Bārappa Chaulukya,[2] who professed allegiance to Vākpati II's lifelong enemies, the Karaṇāṭas.[3]

A.K. Majumdar thinks that Lāṭa first passed into the hands of Mūlarāja[4] and the Paramāras came into conflict with the Chaulukya ruler over the possession of that province,[5] and it is this Paramāra-Chaulukya conflict which is referred to in the Udaipur *praśasti*.[6] But of this there is no evidence ; all the literary and epigraphic evidence available so far, connects Bārappa and his descendants (and not Mūlarāja) with Lāṭa.[7] So the defeat of Lāṭa at the hands of Vākpati II must have been the defeat of Bārappa or his son Goggirāja, the chief of Lāṭa.[8]

The war with the Karṇāṭas *i.e.* the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī had been a foregone conclusion, almost since the beginning of the reign of Vākpati II. The Paramāras had hoped to make themselves the masters of the decrepit Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire by the

[1] The relations between the Cholas and the Western Chālukyas were hostile at that time (Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 175-76). Nothing is known about the Kerala prince who was on the throne at that time.

[2] From some inscriptions (*i.e.* the Surat plates of Trilochanapāla, dated Śaka 972=1050 A.D., *IA*, XII, pp. 196-205) and literary references (*i.e. DV*, VI, p. 15, 196 ; *SK*, II, v. 5 ; *KK*, II, v. 3 ; *Pc*, p. 15 etc), we know that a Chaulukya chief Bārappa was ruling over Lāṭa in the third quarter of the 10th century A.D.

[3] According to Merutuṅga, Bārappa was the general of Tailapa II. *Pc*, p. 16.

[4] That the Lāṭa chief was defeated by Mūlarāja is evidenced by the Gujrat chronicles. Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See above fn. 2.

[8] We have found an inscription for Kīrtirāja, the successor of Goggirāja, dated Śaka 940=1018 A.D. (*Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 287-303). Goggirāja himself or his father Bārappa would have been therefore the contemporary of Vākpati II.

As we have seen above, Sīyaka II was in the effective control of at least northern Lāṭa (*vide* Chap. IV). It may be that the Lāṭa chief at the instigation of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, tried to encroach upon the Paramāra territory and hence the struggle.

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defeat of Khottiga and the sack of Mānyakheṭa,[1] but the power instead passed into the hands of Tailapa Chālukya who overthrew one prince after another and ultimately stood face to face with his most formidable rival Vākpati II. Thus began the struggle between the two neighbouring dynasties which continued for many generations.

According to Merutuṅga, the author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Vākpati II defeated Tailapa more than once before his final defeat at the hands of the Karṇāṭa king.[2] The Udaipur *praśasti* also records the victory of Vākpati II over the Karṇāṭas.[3] Should we take this as a reference to Vākpati II's victory over the Kalachuris with whom the Chālukyas may have been allied as their near relations, or should we assume that Vākpati II gained some success against his rival in his early attempts ? The Karṇāṭas, however, proved strong enough to continue the struggle in spite of a few reverses, which may be quite likely, and which were more than avenged when Vākpati II, acting against the advice of his chief minister, Rudrāditya, crossed the river Godavari and passed into the Chālukya dominions.[4] This time fortune did not favour the Paramāras. They were decisively defeated, their king Vākpati II fell captive into the hands of Tailapa II and a little later the captive Paramāra ruler was put to death[5] by the orders of Tailapa II, because of having become the centre of some political conspiracy.[6]

According to a Western Chālukya inscription, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśava* Āhavamalla was marching against Uppala (*i.e.* Utpala)

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. IV.

[2] It might be taken as a fact if we regard the defeat of Tailapa's allies as the defeat of Tailapa himself, *i.e.* of Yuvarāja II of Tripurī and Bārappa of Lāṭa.

[3] See above p. 53, fn. 5.

[4] *Pc*, p. 22.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 24 ; Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V, *IA*, XVI, pp. 15-24 ; Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI, *EI*, XV, pp. 348-63.

[6] The romantic story of the captivity and death of Muñja Vākpati forms the subject of one of the *Prabandhas* of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* which may be summarised as follows :

In spite of being dissuaded by his chief minister, Rudrāditya, Muñja crossed the river Godavari and was defeated and captured by Tailapa. He was put in a Karṇāṭa prison. But as luck would have it, he fell there in love with Mṛṇālavatī, the widowed sister of Tailapa II. Like the gallant lover that he was, when his ministers made arrangements for his

(*Contd. on next page*

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in Śaka 917=995 A.D.[1] This *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* has been identified with Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya, the son and successor of Tailapa II, and his adversary Uppala with the Paramāra king Utpalarāja Vākpati II.[2] Vākpati II's death, therefore, must have taken place sometime after the date of this epigraph *i.e.* 995 A.D. and before 997 A.D., the year in which Tailapa II died.[3] Tailapa II was thus helped by his son Satyāśraya[4] and perhaps by his feudatory Bhillama II who ruled in southern Khandesh, in his struggle against the Paramāras.[5]

Vākpati II is remembered in the annals of this country as a gifted general and a gallant lover, but he is remembered still more as a poet, patron of letters and the establisher of that tradition of love of fine arts and literature, which distinguished the Paramāras of Malwa even when their political fortunes were at the lowest ebb. Vākpati II was no mere nominal Vākpati (*i.e.* lord of speech) but a Vākpati in fact.[6] 'On account of his eloquence, high poetic powers, and mastery of the arts of reasoning and the *śāstras*', states the Udaipur *praśasti*, 'he was rightly praised by the virtuous as His Glorious Majesty

(*Contd. from previous page*)

escape, he decided to take Mṛṇālavatī with him and unfolded to her all the details of the plot. She, however, proved unworthy of the trust reposed in her. Tailapa, to make an example of Muñja, made him to beg from door to door. Sometime later Muñja was executed. *Pc*, pp. 22-25.

The story as given in the *Pc*, is in the main true, because it is confirmed in its most important particulars by epigraphic evidence. The Chālukya inscriptions speak of the imprisonment and death of Vākpati II at the hands of Tailapa. Rudrāditya is also known to have been Vākpati II's minister. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* also records the tradition that Vākpati II lost his life in the wars of the Deccan. *AA*, II, p. 216.

[1] *Indian Archaeology 1957-58—A Review*, p. 71; *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 131-33.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *BG*, I, pt. II, p. 432.

[4] The Kanarese poet Ranna also tells us that Satyāśraya assisted his father in his military affairs. *Gadāyuddha, Aśvāsa*, II, v. 47.

[5] Bhillama is said to have crushed the military force of the great king Muñja and thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the home of the illustrious Raṇaraṅgabhīma. *EI*, II, p. 218, ll. 40-42.

[6] Vākpati II's own activity in poetry is shown not only by the numerous verses ascribed to him in the *Prabandhas*, but more certainly by the quotations in the anthologies. *Vide infra* App. VII.

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Vākpati'.[1] Even more eloquent is the tribute of a contemporary poet who writes :

Gate Muñje yaśaḥ puñje nirālambā Sarasvatī

Another poet says :

'After Vikramāditya was departed, after Sātavāhana had gone home, the goddess Sarasvatī reposed besides this poet-friend'.[2] He further writes :

'We worship lord Vākpati
For he is the root
From that heavenly creeper springs
Which we call Sarasvatī,
Only by his grace
Do we tread the path,
Which mighty poets trod before us'.[3]

Scholars from all parts of India flocked to his court, attracted as much by his real appreciation of poetry as by his huge largesses. Brāhmaṇas, as well as non-Brāhmaṇas, Jainas as well as non-Jainas found a ready welcome at Ujjayinī provided they had real talent. His inscription from Dharmapurī records the grant of a *tadāra* Pippārikā to a philosopher named Vāsantāchārya who had migrated to Malwa from Ahichchhtra.[4] The most important information contained in the Gaonri inscription of Vākpati II is regarding the migration of the Brāhmaṇas from various parts of the country to Malwa where they were the recipients of donations at the hands of the Paramāra prince.[5] In several instances the donees seem to have migrated all the way from Bengal, Bihar and Assam.[6] Of many scholars that had collected round Vākpati II, a few now known to us are Padmagupta, the author of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*; Dhanañjaya, the author of the *Daśarūpaka*—a well known

1 . . . वक्तृत्वोच्चकवि वतर्ककलनप्रज्ञातशा [स्त्रा] गमः
श्रीमद्वावपतिराजदेव इति यः सद्भिः सदा कीर्त्यते ॥१३॥ *EI*, I, p. 235.

2 *NC*, XI, p. 93.

3 Cf. सरस्वतीकल्पलतैककन्दं
वन्दामहे वावपतिराजदेवम् ।
यस्य प्रसादाद्वयमप्यनल्प-
कवीन्द्रचीर्णे पथि सञ्चरामः ॥७॥ *NC*, I, p. 2.

4 *IA*, VI, pp. 51-52.

5 *EI*, XXIII, pp. 101-13.

6 *Ibid.*

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treatise on dramaturgy ; his brother Dhanika, the writer of the *Kāvyanirṇaya* and *Daśarūpāvaloka*, a commenatry on the *Daśarūpaka* ; Dhanapāla, who wrote the *Pāiyalachchhīnāmamālā* and *Tilakamañjarī* ; his younger brother Śobhaṇa ; and Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha the author of the *Mṛtasaṁjīvanī*, a commentary on the *Piṅgalachhaṁdaśāstra*, who came over to Malwa from the Deccan. There must have been many more of lesser repute whose works have not come down to us.[1] Vākpati II beautified Dhārā with many buildings. He built also a big tank called Muñja-sāgara, and temples and embankments at Ujjain, Maheśvara, Oṁkāra-Māndhāta and Dharmapurī.[2] A town in Gujarat bore his name *i.e.* Muñjapura.[3]

Vākpati II was an able administrator. He consolidated the gains of his predecessors and by his paternal rule endeared himself to his subjects.[4] Rudrāditya was his chief minister.[5] Vākpati II was a brave soldier and a capable general, who by the force of his own arms humbled the pride of Mewar, Marwar Lāṭa, Hūṇa, Chedi and Gurjara rulers and extended the Paramāra dominions to a considerable extent. His tragic end was widely mourned by his subjects whose lamentations were voiced by Padmagupta in one of his well-known verses :

Hā śṛṅgāra-taraṅgiṇī-kulagire hā rājachūḍāmaṇe
Hā saujanya-sudhā-nidhāna ha-ha-hā vaidagdhya-dugdhodadhe ॥
Hā dev-Ojjayinī-bhujaṅga yuvati-pratyakṣa-kaṁdarpa hā
Hā sad-bāndhava hā kalāmṛta-kara kvāsi pratīkṣasva naḥ ॥[6]

It is hardly possible to find a better historical character than Vākpati II to adorn a story or to point a moral.[7]

Sindhurāja : *c. 997-1010 A.D.*

After Vākpati II the succession to the Paramāra throne fell to his younger brother Sindhurāja.[8] The stories which the Jaina

[1] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *GG*, III, p. 117.
[4] *Vide infra* Chap. XIII.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *JBBRAS*, XVI, p. 174 ; *Auchityavichāracharchā*, p. 24.
[7] For instance see the *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāla which gives an interesting though wrong account of Vākpati II. An earlier and much more historical work was *Muñjarāso*, an Apabhraṁśa work quoted by Hemachandra and utilised by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.
[8] *NC*. XI, v. 92.

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prabandhas relate that he was exiled on account of disobedience and blinded and imprisoned by Vākpati II's orders[1] are a late fabrication without any foundation in facts. Actually the relations between the two brothers were the most cordial. Vākpati II was so fond of Sindhurāja's son Bhoja that he had him anointed as the Yuvarāja.[2] From the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* we know that before starting on his fatal expedition in the Godāvari valley Vākpati II put the reins of administration in the hands of Sindhurāja.[3] But as Vākpati II never returned and Bhoja was perhaps yet a minor, Sindhurāja succeeded to the throne.

Sindhurāja assumed the titles of *Navasāhasāṅka*, *Navīnasāhasāṅka*, *Kumāranārāyaṇa*, *Mālavaikamṛgāṅka*, *Avanti-tilaka*, *Avantīśvara*, *Paramāra-mahībhṛt* and *Mālavarāja*. Unfortunately Sindhurāja has no inscription to his credit. But the account given by Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, which was undertaken not merely out of poetic pride but at Sindhurāja's command[5] and the references to Sindhurāja in the later Paramāra inscriptions, enable us to make a fair estimate of his career and achievements.

Sindhurāja's first action must naturally have been directed against the Kuntalas, the mortal enemies of his brother Vākpati II. In the words of Padmagupta, Sindhurāja, 'with his sword red with missiles took back his own kingdom (*svarājya*) which was occupied by the lord of Kuntala, who had overrun all directions just as the sun; whose harbinger is Aruṇa, assumes the possessions of the day, that was before enveloped in dense darkness spread in all directions'.[6] This may be interpreted to mean that soon after his accession Sindhurāja led an expedition to the south and won back his territory from the lord of Kuntala who had annexed some portion of the Paramāra kingdom.[7] Kuntala being the well-known name of the southern

[1] *Pc*, pp. 21-22 ; *Rās Mālā*, I, p. 85.
[2] *TM*, I, v. 43 ; *vide infra* Chap. VI.
[3] *NC*, XI, v. 98.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, vv. 10 and 16 ; *ibid.*, VI, vv. 11, 12, 21 and 106.
[5] *NC*, I, v. 9.
[6] आक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलकुन्तलेन्द्रसाद्राधकारान्तरितं रणे यः ।
स्वराज्यमस्त्रारुणमण्डलाग्रो गृहीतवान्दीधितिमानिवाऽहः ॥७४॥ *NC*, I, p. 16.
[7] The use of the word *antarita* in connection with *svarājya* shows, as is suggested by V.V. Mirashi, that the lord of Kuntala had occupied some portion of the Paramāra territory.

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Maratha country and the adjoining Kanarese districts[1] then ruled over by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī,[2] the reference obviously is to Sindhurāja's victory over the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. As Satyāśraya, the son of Tailapa II, is described as marching towards the north against Utpala in 995 A.D.,[3] it seems that after the execution of Vākpati II, the Chālukyas annexed the southern portion of the Paramāra kingdom, which perhaps then extended upto the river Godavari,[4] and though Padmagupta remains silent over these reverses of his former master we need not on that account, as pointed out by V.V. Mirashi, doubt the veracity of his statement that Sindurāja soon after his accession took back his hereditary territory (*svarājya*) from the Kuntaleśvara. The Kuntaleśvara was probably Tailapa II's successor, Satyāśraya, who soon after his accession in 997 A.D., found himself involved in a protracted struggle with the Choḷa king Rājārāja (985-1014 A.D.).[5] And in all probability, it was during these troublesome times, when Satyāśraya's attention was directed to the south that Sindhurāja recovered the Paramāra territory lost by his predecessor Vākpati II.[6]

After making his southern border secure Sindhurāja, adhering to the anicent Indian *maṇḍala* theory of foreign policy, directed his attention towards his northern neighbouring kingdoms, and his first blow fell on the Hūṇas. The Udaipur *praśasti*[7] and the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* record that Sindhurāja won a decisive victory over the Hūṇas.[8] The war with the Hūṇas which began

[1] Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 159.

[2] *EI*, XII, pp. 142-55.

[3] *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 131-33.

[4] We are told by Merutuṅga that it was after crossing Godavari that Vākpati II entered into the Chālukya territory (*Pc*, p. 22). So Godavari most probably formed the boundary line between the two rival kingdoms during those days.

[5] Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 175-77.

[6] We should do well to remember that in the time of Bhoja, the son and successor of Sindhurāja, Godavari was once again the dividing line between the Paramāra and the Chālukyan dominions. The Paramāra and the Karnāṭaka armies are said to have fought on the banks of the Gautama-Gaṅgā *i.e* Godavari, in the time of Bhoja. *Vide infra* Chap. VI.

[7] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 16.

[8] अपकर्तुमत्र समये तवात्तभीर्मनसापि हूणनृपतिर्न वाञ्छति ।
इभकुम्भभित्तिदलनोद्यमे हरेर्न कपिः कदाचन सटां विकर्षति ॥१७॥ *NC*, X, p. 160.

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during the reign of his father *i.e.* Sīyaka II, and which continued in the time of his brother Vākpati II, was brought to a successful termination by Sindhurāja, and the Hūṇa territory seems to have been assimilated into the Paramāra kingdom.[1]

Padmagupta next speaks of his master's victory over the people of Vāgaḍa[2] (*i.e.* Bānswārā and Ḍūṅgarpur), which was at that time under the possession of a junior line of the Paramāras founded by Ḍambarasiṁha, a son of Upendrarāja of Malwa.[3] Sindhurāja's contemporary ruler might have been Chaṇḍapa.[4]

D.C. Ganguly, however, suggests that the Paramāras were ruling in southern Vāgaḍa and the northern Vāgaḍa was with the Guhilas, and it was against this Guhila territory of Vāgaḍa that Sindhurāja led his army.[5] But as shown above, Vākpati II had extended his victories up to Mewar and annexed the Guhila territory adjoining the Paramāra kingdom, *i.e.* both Āghaṭa and Chitor.[6] It is difficult to believe that a branch of the Guhilas could have been left undisturbed to rule in northern Vāgaḍa (which lay between the Paramāra kingdom and Mewar), while their home territory was annexed to the Paramāra kingdom during the time of Vākpati II. To us it seems that Padmagupta here refers to a conflict with Chaṇḍapa of the Paramāra family of Vāgaḍa.

Sindhurāja's victory over Kośala is also narrated in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*.[7] This Kośala must have been south Kośala *i.e.* modern Chhatisgarh and the adjoining territory.[8] To distinguish this Kośala from another territory of the same name, the capital of which was Ayodhyā in the state of U.P., it was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala. Sindhurāja's contemporary ruler of

[1] We do not hear of the Paramāra-Hūṇa conflict after the reign of Sindhurāja.

[2] आसितकान्तिजालजटिलाग्रबाहुना रणसीम्नि नाथ ! निहतेषुभर्तृषु ।
भवताऽत्र वागडवधूजनः कृतो रतिसन्धिविग्रहकथापराङ्मुखः ॥१५॥ *NC*, X, p. 161.

[3] See above p. 33 and *infra* Chap. XI.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *GHP*, pp. 77-78.

[6] See above p. 47.

[7] नयनाम्बुभिः स्नपितधूसराधराः प्रतिबद्धरूक्षमलिनैकवेणयः ।
निहिता न किं महति शोकसागरे जगतीन्द्र कौशलपतेः पुरन्ध्रयः ॥१८॥ *NC*, X, p. 161.

[8] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. cxv.

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Kośala may have been Kaliṅgarāja, who was descended from a younger brother of Kokalla I.[1] In fighting against Kośala Sindhurāja was carrying further the policy of his predecessor, Vākpati II.

V.V. Mirashi has at one place suggested that the ruler of Kośala, defeated by Sindhurāja, must have been one of the Gupta rulers of Śrīpura in C.P.[2] But later on the basis of the Ratanpur inscription[3] he changed his view and suggested that Sindhurāja's adversary, the king of Kośala, was Kaliṅgarāja Kalachuri.[4] Recently, however, the king of Kośala has been identified with the Somavaṁśī ruler Yayati Mahāśivagupta.[5]

Next, Sindhurāja seems to have dealt with the chief of Lāṭa. As we have seen already, Lāta was being ruled over by the descendants of Bārappa Chālukya during the last quarter of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Bārappa's son Goggirāja after his discomfiture at the hands of Vākpati II seems to have solicited the aid of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and succeeded in regaining his paternal kingdom,[6] perhaps, after the death of Vākpati II. But hardly had Goggirāja established himself on the throne of Lāṭa when he had to confront the invading army of Sindhurāja, whose victory over the Lāṭas is sung by Padmagupta.[7] Sindhurāja may have reduced the Lāṭa chief to subordination.

Sindhurāja pushed his arms further down towards Aparānta then being ruled over by a Śilāhāra family,[8] where he is said to have won a victory.[9]

1 *CII*, IV, ins. no. 77.
2 *IA*, LXII, p. 101.
3 *CII*, IV, ins. no. 77.
4 *Ibid*, Intro., p. cxviii.
5 *QRHS*, I, No. 3 (1961-62), p. 128 ; *MSI*, II, p. 59.
6 The Surat copper-plate grant of Trilochanapāla, dated 1050 A.D., states that Goggirāja relived his own land like the great Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like the demons. *IA*, XII, p. 203.
7 रभसादपरस्य मणिकङ्कणावलीः कनकाकारविन्दकटकेषुतेऽसिना ।
न किमर्पितानि नृप लाटयोषितां स्फटिकाक्षसूत्रवलयानि पाणिषु ।।१७।। *NC*, X, p. 161
8 *IC*, II, p. 402.
9 उदितेन वैरितिमिरद्रहाऽभितस्तव नाथ विक्रममयूखमालिना ।
गमिताः प्रभावलयशून्यतां झटित्यपरान्तपार्थिववधू मुखेन्दवः ।।१९।। *NC*, X, p. 162.

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V.V. Mirashi has suggested that Sindhurāja invaded Aparānta in order to help Arikesarin *alias* Kesideva against his younger brother Vajjaḍa who had superceeded the former's rightful claim of succession, after the death of their father Aparājita, the Śilāhāra ruler of Koṅkaṇa.[1] V.V. Mirashi has based his theory on the evidence of the Bhandup plates, dated 1026 A.D. of Chhittarāja, wherein Arikesarin is referred to, perhaps,[2] as the elder brother of Vajjaḍa.[3] On the other hand, an inscription of Arikesarin, dated 1018 A.D., after eulogising Vajjaḍa in v. 15, is believed to state in v. 16 that 'then was born his younger brother Arikesarin....'[4] Though the poor edition of this record, and the absence of its text do not permit us to prefer its evidence to that of the Bhandup plates, the testimony of the latter[5] is further weakened by the fact that the later records of the family refer to Vajjaḍa and Arikesarin as brothers and are silent about the seniority or juniority of either of them.[6] All that we know is that Aparājita was succeeded by his son Vajjaḍa, he by his brother Arikesarin and the latter by his nephew Chhittarāja, the son of Vajjaḍa. If Vajjaḍa was an usurper who was later on deposed by Arikesarin with the help of Sindhurāja, as supposed by Mirashi,[7] how could Vajjaḍa be eulogised in glowing terms in an inscription of 1018 A.D.,[8] when the echoes of the struggle (if there had been any) must have been still resounding in the air.[9] We further fail to explain the references to Arikesarin in the records of Chhittarāja, if the

[1] *IA*, LXII, pp. 102-03 ; *MSI*, II, pp. 61-62.

[2] We use the word 'perhaps' because the verse concerned has been intrepreted differently be Dr. Altekar. *IC*, II, p. 406.

[3] The reading of the text stands thus :

तस्मादभूद्वज्जडदेवनामा ततोग्रजः श्री केसिदेवश्च । *EI*, XII, p. 262, l. 14.

[4] *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 359.

[5] The word *agraja* of the Bhandup plates (see fn. 3) seems to go more naturally with Kesirāja, but we have to admit that it is equaily possible to construe it with Vajjaḍa. *Vide IC*. II, p. 406.

[6] Cf. The Kharepātan plates. *IA*, IX, pp. 33-46.

[7] *IA*, LXII, pp. 102-03 ; *MSI*, II, pp. 61-62.

[8] V. 15 of the Thānā plates dated 1018 A.D. says, 'Vajjaḍa was a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently skilled in morality ; whose deep thoughts all the people, clad in horrid armour, praise even to this day'. *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 366.

[9] The supposed war would have taken place somatime between c. 997-1010 A.D. when Sindhurāja was on the throne of Dhārā.

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former was the enemy and deposer of the latter's father. Usually the names of the collateral members of the ruling family are omitted by the *praśasti* writers; and when the relations between such members are unhappy, such an omission may be taken as certain.

Further, the probability of Mirashi's theory is weakened by the fact that Sindhurāja's contemporary ruler of Koṅkaṇa, most probably, was not Arikesarin (known date 1018 A.D.) but his father Aparājita who issued his land-grant in 997 A.D.[1] The latter was also a contemporary of Chālukya ruler Satyāśraya (*c.* 998-1009 A.D.).[2] We learn from the *Gadāyuddha*, a Kanarese work, that Satyāśraya defeated the Śilāhāra ruler Aparājita, burnt his capital Aṁśunagara and forced him to take resort with the sea. 'Aparājita', we are told, 'hemmed in by occean on one side and the sea of Satyāśraya's army on the other, trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which were on fire', and so thought it best to save himself by paying an indemnity of 'twenty-one elephants', which however, was far from being much to *Sārvabhauma* Satyāśraya.[3] The use of the epithet *Sārvabhauma*[4] for Satyāśraya on this occasion, shows that the latter was ruling in his own right with all the imperial epithets.[5] As Satyāśraya was engaged in a sanguinary

[1] *IE*, III, pp. 267-76.

[2] Tailapa II, the father of Satyāśraya died in 997 A.D. (see above p. 56, fn. 3.) and the latter was ruling in 999 A.D. (*EC*, VIII, Sb. 234, p. 76), which shows that Satyāśraya ascended the throne sometime about 998 A.D. His latest known date is 26th July 1008 A.D., given in an inscription at Maṇāwalli (*IA*, XLVII, p. 287. The earliest known date of his successor Vikramāditya is 10th October, 1010 A.D., given in an inscription at Nellura (*EC*, VIII, Sb, 471, p. 156). The proves that Satyāśraya closed his reign between 1008 A.D. and 1010 A.D.

[3] *Gadāyuddha*, I, vv. 22-28.

[4] Cf. मुनिदिर्पत्तोंदु सूल क्षत्रियरनरसि कोंदिकिदारामनिंदि-
त्त नरेन्द्र पोवकरिलोर्वरुमिवनाधिकं पोवकनेंदापवरव
र्पिनमिर्पत्तोंदनित्तं कलिंगलनपरादित्यनंतीयदंदा
तनर्निपत्तोंदुवंशं किडे मुलिदनो सत्याश्रयं सार्वभौमं ॥ *Ibid.*, v, 28.
I am greatful to Prof. K.V. Raghavachar of Delhi University for giving me the translation and Nāgarī version of this verse.

[5] There are scholars who believe that Aparājita was defeated by Satyāśraya when the latter was a Yuvarāja and the *Gādayuddha* was composed before Satyāśraya's accession to the throne. For details see App. III.

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war with the Cholas in the opening years of his reign, it was perhaps only after the repulse of the invading Chola army in *c.* 1006 A.D.,[1] that he could have turned against the Śilāhāra chief.[2]

The occasion for this attack might have been provided by the fact that while Satyāśraya was fighting against the Cholas in the South, Aparājita was attacked by Sindhurāja and forced to accept latter's supremacy. Such a surrender was bound to provoke chastisement. As this event probably took place in *c.* 1006 A.D. and the first known dates of Sindhurāja's and Aparājita's successors are found respectively in 1011 A.D.[3] and 1018 A.D.,[4] it is not unlikely that Aparājita might have even outlived Sindhurāja.[5]

[1] Satyāśraya was engaged in a sanguinary war with the Cholas which had started in the time of Tailapa II, who claims to have gained a victory against the Chola king and captured 150 elephants from him (*IA*, V, p. 17 ; *SII*, IX (i), no. 77), in the opening years of his reign. The inscriptions of Rājārāja Chola from about 1003 A.D. (*ARE*, (1927), II, p. 11) roundly assert his victory over the Western Chālukyas. The Hottur inscription dated 1007 A.D. (*EI*, XVI, pp. 74-75) after giving a vivid description of the Chola invasion, states that Satyāśraya forced the Chola to turn back, captured his paraphernalia and thus conquered the southern quarter. (*Ibid.* ; Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 175-76 ; 192-93).

All this evidence, thus, goes to show that Satyāśraya was busy fighting against his powerful southern neighbours in the first few years of his reign, but was successful in making himself free from their onslaughts perhaps by 1006 A.D., which enabled him to turn his atteution towards other neighbouring kingdoms.

[2] V.V. Mirashi thinks that Arikesarin and Sindhurāja were contemporaries because he feels that Aparājita died soon after his defeat at the hands of Satyāśraya (*MSI*, II, p. 61), for which he gives neither a reason nor assigns even an approximate date. As Satyāśraya could have became a *Sārvabhauma* ruler only after 997 A.D. (the date of Tailapa II's death, see above p. 56, fn. 3), Aparājita was probably the ruler who remained on the throne of Koṅkaṇa from 998 A.D. to 1018 A.D. (the latter being the first known date of his successor Arikesarin) and was therefore a contemporary of Sindhurāja (*c.* 997 A.D.-1010 A.D.).

[3] *EI*, XXXIII, p. 196.

[4] *Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 357.

[5] But as Aparājita's last date is uncertain, we cannot rule out entirely the possibility of Vajjaḍa having fought against Sindhurāja if we put the Paramāra-Śilāhāra struggle between 1006 and 1009 A.D.

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The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* speaks also of Sindhurāja's victory over the Muralas.[1] N.L. Dey and B.C. Law identify Murala with Kerala for according to them, river Muralā flows in Kerala.[2] Prof. Bühler thought that the statement of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* vaguely referred to the continuation of the Chālukya-Paramāra confiict.[3] But if we identify Murala with Kerala, this suggestion becomes untenable. Kerala and Karṇāṭa were well-known in those days as two different countries and are referred to as such in many inscriptions of the Paramāras. Rājaśekhara, the author of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, locates the country of Murala in the south and characterises the complexion of the ladies of this country as dark.[4] But Murala cannot be identified with Kerala, as Kerala is mentioned separately by him.[5] Kālidāsa while describing Raghu's *vijaya* on the Western Ghats, mentions the river Muralā as flowing near the Sahya mountain, somewhere to the south of Aparāntadeśa.[6] The *Avantisundrīkathā* mentions Preharā and Muralā as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported.[7] The land lying between Kerala and Aparānta, near Sahya on the banks of Muralā, may therefore be taken to be the equivalent of the Murala country.[8]

[1] अधुनापि देव मुरलाङ्गनाजनैर्दिग्जयप्रशस्तिरिव लिख्यते तव ।
गलदञ्जनाश्रुपृषतावलिच्छलाल्लसदिन्दुपाण्डुषु कपोलभित्तिषु ॥१६॥ *NC*, X, p. 161.

[2] Dey, N.L., *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 98, 134 ; Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[3] *EI*, I, p. 229 ; *IA*, XXXVI, p. 171.

[4] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Raghuvaṁśa*, canto IV.

[7] *JOR* (Madras University), XIX, pt. II.

[8] V.V. Mirashi, on the basis of a verse in the *Uttararāmacharita* (III, v. 1), on the other hand, infers that Muralā is the name of a tributary of Godavari and that Murala country may be placed in the northern part of the Nizam's dominions (*ABORI*, XI, p. 309 ; *IA*, LXII, p. 101).

The scene of the III Act of the *Uttararāmacharita*, which is put in *Janasthāna*, near Pañchavaṭī and the *āśrama* of Muni Agastaya on the bank of Godavari, opens with a conversation between rivers *Muralā* and *Tamasā*, wherein Muralā informs the latter that she is going to deliver the message of Lopāmudrā to Godavari about Rāmabhadra's

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It seems that Sindhurāja, after his victory in Aparānta, pushed further towards the south and defeated the Muralas, or it may be that the people of Murala country came in conflict with Sindhurāja, as the feudatories or allies of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, or the Śilāhāras of Koṅkaṇa.[1]

The most distinctive achievement of Sindhurāja seems to have been an alliance resulting from his marriage with Śaśiprabhā, also called Asugā, daughter of the Nāga king Śaṅkhapāla, and this is the main theme of Padmagupta's *mahākāvya* the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*. The outline of the story is as follows :

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visit to Janasthāna. Now, if on the basis of this reference V.V. Mirashi could infer that Muralā is a tributary of Godavari then the natural conclusion which we can draw is that Tamasā was flowing close to Muralā at some point in Janasthāna. Tamasā is modern *Tamas* or *Tons* which rising in the northern portion of Rewa in Madhya Pradesh flows into the Ganges, about 18 miles to the south-east of Allahabad (Law, B.C., *op. cit.*, p. 131). If Tamasā, the river of Uttarapatha, could be brought by the poet in Janasthāna, so could be Muralā from some other part of the country.

Not only this, during the very same conversation, Tamasā informs Muralā that Bhagīrathī herself has come to see Godavari, cf. भगवती भगीरथी यदेव भगवत्या लोपामुद्रया । स्नेहादाशङ्कित तदेवभिशङ्क्य सीता समेता केन चिदिव गृह्याचारव्यपदेशेन गोदावरी विलोकयितुमागता ।

Are we then to conclude that Bhagīrathī which is the same as Ganges was a tributary of Godavari ? To us it seems that Bhavabhūti is referring here not to the actual rivers but to the river goddesses who could meet at any convenient point. As Vasantī (referred to in this act), the friend and companion of Sītā was the *vanadevī*, so Muralā, Tamasā and Bhagīrathī were the river goddesses. And thus on the basis of this reference, we should not be justified in identifying Muralā as a tributary of Godavari.

In the light of the evidence supplied by the *Raghuvaṁśa* and confirmed by the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, we have naturally also to reject the statement of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, a comparatively late work, that Muralā was another name of Narmada. (See *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, p. 28 ; *Śabdaratnākara*, p. 4758).

[1] During this period one Śilāhāra family was ruling in south Koṅkaṇa (*vide IC*, II, pp. 397-401). It may be that this family's influence extended upto Murala which was in the south of Aparānta. But when Aparānta was attacked by Sindhurāja, the Muralas may have gone to help their kinsmen. Hence Padmagupta's statement that Sindhurāja conquered the Muralas.

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'The king while hunting on the slopes of the Vindhyas sees Śaśīprabhā, the daughter of the snake king Śaṅkhapāla and falls in love with her. Soon after that Śāśiprabhā is carried away to Bhogavatī, the capital of the Nāgas, in the netherland. Sindhurāja in order to follow her, flings himself along with his minister Yaśobhaṭa into the Narmada. Reaching the other bank of the Narmada, he sees a temple (or a palace).[1] The goddess Narmada receives the king hospitably and tells him that Śaśiprabhā had gone the same way. She also tells him that when Śaśiprabhā was born it was predicted that she would be married to a *Madhyaloka-bhṛt* and bring about the death of Vajrāṅkuśa, an enemy of the snakes.[2] Her father had laid down the condition that she would be married to that prince who would bring the golden lotus from the pleasure pond of Vajrāṅkuśa. Narmada also informs the king that at a distance of fifty *gavyutis* (*śatārdha-gavyūti*) was the town of Ratnāvatī, the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa, the king of the demons and that on his way the king would meet sage Vaṅku. Then, the king accompanied by his minister starts for Ratnāvatī and on his way reaches the *āśrama* of *muni* Vaṅku. There they (*i.e.* the king and his minister) converse with the *muni* and meet Śaśikhaṇḍa, the son of Śikhaṇḍaketu, the king of the Vidyādharas, who had been transformed into a monkey but regains his original form by the touch of Sindhurāja. Being thus obliged Śaśikhaṇḍa joins Sindhurāja with his armies to help the latter in his expedition. The allied armies go by Ākāśamārga and halt on the banks of Gaṅgā. From there they proceed towards Ratnāvatī. A battle is fought, Yaśobhaṭa kills Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of Vajrāṅkuśa. The king himself kills Vajrāṅkuśa. Ratnāvatī is stormed and taken. Sindhurāja puts Phaṇikumāra, a snake youth, on the throne of Ratnāvatī. The king takes the golden lotus and proceeds towards Bhogavatī. He presents the flower to Śaśiprabhā, marries her and goes to Hāṭakeśvara temple. Śaṅkhapāla gives Sindhurāja a Śivaliṅga. Sindhurāja goes back first to Ujjain and then to Dhārā, the *Kularājadhānī*, where he establishes the Śivaliṅga'.

[1] समणिस्तम्भमग्रेऽथ दृष्टं धाम हिरण्मयम् ।
तत्र मूर्ता ततः सिन्धुरिन्दुसूतिर्विलोकिता ॥१०५॥ *NC*, XI, p. 187.

[2] *Ibid.*, IX, p. 151, vv. 37-38.

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Though it is difficult to disentangle fact from fiction, the poet having taken some of his ideas and even names from earlier sources like the Mahābhārata,[1] it is very likely that the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* was written to celebrate Sindhurāja's victory over Vajrāṅkuśa in which the former was aided by a Vidhyādhara prince and a Nāga chieftain, who entered into a matrimonial alliance with Sindhurāja by marrying his daughter to him. The event should be placed late in the career of the king, for he is described as having conquered the Kuntala, Hūṇa, Vāgaḍa, Lāṭa, Murala and Kośala before the occurrence of this event.

The poet's description that the king had to cross Narmada on the way, shows that the country of Vajrāṅkuśa as well as of Śaṅkhapāla lay to the south of the river. Vajrāṅkuśa was not the prince of the demons but of the aborigines,[2] whose capital Ratnāvātī should be looked at a distance of fifty *gavyūtis* from Narmada. D.C. Ganguly regards Vajrāṅkuśa as a non-Āryan ruler of Wairagarh which was also known as Vajra or Vajragarh.[3] Actually Vajrāṅkuśa *i.e.* a goad to the country of Vajra, is not a good name for the ruler of the Vajra country itself, it is a fit appellation only for one who glorified in having subdued Vajra *i.e.* Wairagarh. V.V. Mirashi has identified Vajrāṅkuśa with Vajjuka (also called Vajjuvarman) the lord of Komomaṇḍala,[4] whose capital Ratnāvatī may have been, according to him, Ratanpur of the inscriptions[5] which, according to an ancient tradition recorded by Beglar, was known as Maṇipura.[6] If Sindhurāja crossed Narmada at Māndhātā, says V.V. Mirashi, then Ratanpur would be exact 200 miles from there as described by Padmagupta.[7]

[1] See for instance description of Arjuna's marriage with Ullupi in the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.

[2] In ancient Indian literature the non-Āryans are represented as the Asuras.

[3] *GHP*, pp. 70-72.

[4] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. xcix ; *MSI*, II, p. 67.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *ASR* (Cunn.), VII, p. 216. The poet Rājaśekhara refers to a town Ratnāpurī, but that is an imaginary name as confessed by the poet himself. *Vide Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 39.

[7] These identifications are, however, not above difficulties. If Vajrāṅkuśa was the ruler of Komomaṇḍala, as stated by V.V. Mirashi,

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The Nāga chief Śaṅkhapāla has been identified with a ruler of Chakrakoṭya in Bastar.[1] The family which ruled there

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then we have to assume that the territory of Komomaṇḍala extended as far as Ratanpur and the latter was the capital of Komomaṇḍala in the time of Sindhurāja. But we have no evidence to corroborate such an assumption. Secondly, we are not sure whether Vajjuka could be called an *asura* for we have nothing to show that he belonged to an aboriginal tribe. All that we know about him is that his daughter was married to Ratnadeva, the Chedi ruler. Another difficulty with which we are faced is the exact equivalent of the term *gavyūti*. We may also point out that Ratanpur of the inscriptions supposed by Mirashi to have been the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa, does not lie at a distance of 200 miles from Māndhātā.

An article written by M.N. Deshpande (*Ancient India*, No. 15 (1959), pp. 66-72), includes a map of India showing the most important trade routs of western India in ancient times (*ibid.*, Fig. I). The route which connected Ujjain with Bhaja, passed through Maheshwar, Burhanpur, Ghaṭotkacha, Ajanta and Bhogavardhana. It is suggested that this Bhogavardhana may have been the Bhogavaḍhāna of the Purāṇas, which is placed in the southern region along with the Mulikas, Aśmakas, Kuntalas, etc. (*Cf.* Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, LVII, 48-49). At a crow flying distance of 150 to 200 miles from Bhogavardhana there are three Ratnapuras (*vide* our Map No. 2). Bhogavardhana in ancient times was a great centre of the Nāga worship as well as *liṅga* worship. A number of sculptures depicting the serpent god with *liṅgas* have been found at Bhogavardhana and the neighbourhood. As tradition and art both associate Bhogavardhana with the Nāga cult, could Bhogavatī the capital of the Nāga king, as referred to in the *NC*, be the same as Bhogavardhana ? Further, the poet-saint Śrī Chakradhara while visiting various places on his pilgrimage in upper Deccan, is said to have first gone to Bhogavatī and then to Paithan. (*Vide* Kolate, V.B., *Srī Chakradhara Charitra*, pp. 53, 56). This also shows that Bhogavatī should be looked somewhere in the vicinity of Paithan.

Ratnāvatī the capital of Vajrāṅkuśa may have been one of the three Ratnapuras (*vide* Map No. 2). One of these Ratnapuras is 200 miles from Māndhātā (*ibid.*). River Gaṅgā, on the bank of which Sindhurāja is said to have halted, may have been either Tapti or one of its tributaries

As we do not know about the antiquity of these three Ratnapuras and the identifieation of Bhogavatī with Bhogavardhana is also not finally established, we are unable to say anything beyond this at present. The probability of the identifications is however interesting and important and should be borne in mind by the students of the Paramāra history.

[1] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. cxx ; *MSI*, H, p. 66.

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during the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D., is styled as Nāgavaṁśa and its members bore the proud title of "the lord of Bhogavatī".[1] The Nāga chiefs were often at war with the Kalachuris of Ratanpur.[2] The existence of a Nāga chief ruling in Baster district in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., who was hostile to Vajrāṅkuśa or Vajjuka the relative of the Kalachuris, is therefore not unlikely.[3]

The Vidyādhara prince Śaśikhaṇḍa represents probably a Śilāhāra prince for the Śilāhāras trace their origin from Jimutavāhana, the mythical prince of the Vidyādharas.[4] During this period there were three families of the Śilāhāras ruling in Kolhapur, northern Koṅkaṇa and southern Koṅkaṇa.[5] This prince Śaśikhaṇḍa, the ally of Sindhurāja may therefore be a prince of one of these families who courted Sindhurāja's friendship, perhaps, to fight against a danger in his own country.[6]

V.V. Mirashi connects the name of the sage Vaṅku with that of the god Vaṅkeśvara whose temple was erected at Tummāṇa.[7]

[1] Hiralal, R.B., *Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*, p. 146.

[2] *MSI*, II, p. 68.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*; *EI*, XII, pp. 261-65.

[5] *IC*, II, pp. 393-433.

[6] V.V. Mirashi has identified Śikhaṇḍaketu, the father of Śaśikhaṇḍa with Arikesarin who, according to him, being obliged to Sindhurāja for the latter had helped him against his brother Vajjaḍa, on this occasion sent his son and armies in aid of Sindhurāja. But as shown above, Sindhurāja's contemporary on the throne of Aparānta was probably Arikesarin's father Aparājita and as there is no ground to assume the interference in the affairs of Aparānta by Sindhurāja due to a war of succession, it is difficult to accept the identification of Śikhaṇḍaketu with Arikesarin.

[7] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. cxix; *MSI*, II, p. 69.

This identification too is not free from difficulties either. Firstly, we have to keep in mind that the temple Vaṅkeśvara was erected in 1047 A.D. (*CII*, ins. no. 77), that is much later than Sindhurāja. Even if we were to explain this by saying that the erection of Vaṅkeśvara temple signifies only the renovation of Vaṅkeśvara temple, we cannot forget the fact that Tummāṇa where stood the temple of Vaṅkeśvara, did not lay on way to Ratnāvatī. Whereas according to the *NC* Vaṅku Muni's āśrama was on way to Ratnāvati.

Here we can also mark another point that the *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* mentions Vaṅkeśvaraliṅga on the southern bank of the Narmada. *Kalyāṇa, Skandapurāṇāṅka* (1951), p. 772.

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The Śrīkāntaparavata of the *Navasāhasāṅkachārita* may have been the Śrīśaila-*parvata* of Māṇdhātākṣetra.[1]

The historical basis of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* thus seems to have been that the Nāga ruler Śaṅkhapāla sought the aid of the Paramāra king Sindhurāja against Vajrāṅkuśa.[2] Sindhurāja found a good opportunity of strengthening the south-eastern frontier of his kingdom.[3] He along with the Śilāhāras marched against Vajjuka whom he slew in battle, placed a Nāga prince in charge of his territory,[4] and married the daughter of the Nāga king. We may tentatively accept some of these conclusions. But such an acceptance is not absolutely free from certain doubts and difficulties of which some have been indicated in our footnotes.[5]

The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* is silent as far as Sindhurāja's conflict with the Chaulukyas is concerned. But this silence becomes understandable when we come to know that Padmagupta's master had to face a reverse this time. The Vāḍnagar *praśasti* dated 1151 A.D. records that seeing from afar the armies of Chāmuṇḍarāja, *Kṣoṇīpati* Sindhurāja beat such a retreat that he thereby lost all his well established fame.[6] That this Sindhurāja was a king named Sindhurāja and not

[1] *Kalyāṇa, Skandapurāṇāṅka* (1951), p. 772.

[2] V.V. Mirashi thinks that Vajrāṅkuśa, whom he has identified with Vajjuka was allied with the Kalachuri ruler Kaliṅgarāja (*CII*, IV, Intro., p. cxx). Since we do not know the nature of the relationship between Vajjuka and Kaliṅgarāja, it is difficult to believe that Sindhurāja defeated Kaliṅgarāja on this occasion and occupied Tummāṇa as suggested by Mirashi (*MSI*, II, p. 69).

[3] The territory round about Ratnapur that was conquered by Sindhurāja remained under the control of his successors, for a few generations at least. It was somewhere in the vicinity of this area in Chanda District that the Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman was discovered (*EI*, XXIII, p. 253, fn. 2). It was this very area which was later ruled over by Prince Jagaddeva. *Vide infra* App. IV.

[4] This arrangement, if there was any, must have been short-lived for we do not hear of Nāga rule in Komomaṇḍala during this period.

[5] *Cf.* above fn. 3 ; p. 69, fn. 7 ; p. 71, fns. 6 and 7.

[6] सुनुरतस्य बभूव भूपतिलकश्चामुंडराजाह्वयो
यद्गंधद्विपदानगंधपवनाघ्राणेन दूरादपि।
विभ्रस्यन्मदगंधभग्नकरिभिः श्री सिन्धुराजस्तथा
नष्टः क्ष्मापतिर्यथास्य यशसां गंधोपि निर्नाशितः ॥६॥ *EI*, I, p. 297.

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the king of Sindhudeśa, becomes clear from the use of the epithet *Kṣonīpati* for Sindhurāja in the Vāḍnagar *praśasti*.[1] Chāmuṇḍarāja's (*c.* 996-1010 A.D.) contemporary king named Sindhurāja was no other than Sindhurāja Paramāra. Dr. Ojha thinks that the use of the word *naṣṭa* for Sindhurāja by the Vāḍnagar *praśasti* indicates that Sindhurāja was killed on the battlefield at the hands of Chāmuṇḍarāja.[2] He finds support for his conclusion in the *Kumārapālacharita* wherein we are told that Chāmuṇḍa killed in the battle Sindhurāja, who was proud (intoxicated) like a lordly elephant.[3] We have already seen the word *naṣṭa* is drawn from the root *naś* which means to run away.[4] Hence on the basis of the Vāḍnagar *praśasti* we cannot conclude that Sindhurāja was killed on the battlefield. It seems that Sindhurāja's armies came in conflict with the Chaulukyan armies, but the Paramāras were defeated. In due course of time the Gujarat chronicles, however, seem to have turned the Paramāra reverse into the death of Sindhurāja.[5]

In the cultural sphere Sindhurāja carried on the glorious tradition of Muñja's reign. He liberally patronised Padmagupta. Other poets too probably found the same encouragement as of old in the court of this ruler. Coming between the two glorious reigns of Muñja and Bhoja, Sindhurāja's period may appear rather tame in achievement. But he too was a great soldier and a successful warrior, who carried his arms in distant lands ; he was also a man of letters, taking delight in the company of scholars and poets. His reign ended sometime before V.S. 1067=1011 A.D. which is the earliest known date[6] for his successor, Bhoja the Great.

[1] *EI*, I, p. 297, v. 6.
[2] *Ojha Nibandha Saṁgraha*, p. 175.
[3] रेजे चामुण्डराजोऽथ यश्चामुण्डावरोद्धुरः ।
सिंधुरेंद्रमिवोन्मत्तं सिन्धुराजम् मृधेवधीत् ॥ *Kumārapālacharita*, I, 31.
[4] See above, p. 49, fn. 5.
[5] See fn. 2.
[6] *EI*, XXXIII, p. 196.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PARAMĀRA IMPERIALISM AT ITS ZENITH

Bhoja the Great : 1011-1055 A.D.

Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son, Bhoja, the most famous and the greatest of the Paramāra rulers of Malwa. The stories of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga, the *Bhojacharita* of Ballāla, and the *Āin-i-Akbarī* of Abul Fazl, stating that he was the immediate successor of Muñja, have to be rejected in the light of the contemporary and extremely reliable evidence to the contrary.[1] On the same ground again we have to disbelieve the story so popular among the old Paṇḍitas that Muñja ordered Bhoja to be killed on hearing that the latter would rule over the whole of Daksiṇāpatha (*i.e.* S. India) and Gauḍa (meaning thereby probably N. India), an ambition which he had never been able to realise.[2] How cordial the relations between the uncle and the nephew actually were, has already been mentioned above.[3]

Malwa is geographically so placed by nature that its rulers had often to fight against the neighbouring monarchs. No clear-cut barriers separate it from Gujarat, Bundelkhand,

[1] The only basis of the story seems to be the fact that Muñja had appointed Bhoja as his Yuvarāja. Actually as we have seen Sindhurāja succeeded his brother.

[2] The story is continued as follows :

Bhoja so impressed the executioners with his innocence and grace that they did not kill him. They carried also what was believed to be his last message to Muñja, a Sanskrit saying, 'Māndhātā that ornament of the Kṛtayuga passed away, where is the destroyer of the ten-headed Rāvaṇa, Mahārāja Rāma, who built a bridge over the ocean. Others too, Yudhiṣṭhira and the rest, have passed away. This earth has gone with none of them ; but perhaps she might accompany you'. So touched Muñja by this message that his only desire after it was to have Bhoja back and great was his joy when he found that Bhoja had not been killed. *Pc*, p. 22.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

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Rajputana and central India.[1] Sīyaka II's imperialist policy had antagonised the rulers there. Nor did the behaviour of Muñja, whose life was one of long and continuous struggle, and Sindhurāja inspire any confidence in the hearts of these chiefs. Bhoja, who inherited his ambition and aggressive foreign policy from his predecessors, had either to subjugate these adjoining territories or be subjugated by them. There did not seem to be any middle way, if he did not wish to go the way of his uncle who in the end died at the hands of the Karṇāṭa chief Tailapa II. In those days of power politics when every important kingdom was trying to subdue its neighbours, and none trusted the other, Bhoja, in spite of all his cultural and literary tastes, had to be an astute diplomat, skilful general, nay even an ambitious and aggressive ruler of Malwa, if Malwa was to attain the position of one of the most important and powerful kingdom in contemporary India. Paramāra imperialism reached its zenith under Bhoja and Malwa rose to its greatest glory and renown during this period.

Merutuṅga has assigned a reign period of fifty-five years to Bhoja.[2] It however, seems that Bhoja ruled only for forty-five years. The following are some of the dates of Bhoja's reign which we get from his inscriptions and some other literary references :

The Moḍāsā plates	...	V.S. 1067=1011 A.D.[3]
The Mahūḍī plates	...	V.S. 1074=1017 A.D.[4]
The Bānswārā plates	...	V.S. 1076=1020 A.D.[5]
The Betmā plates	...	V.S. 1076=1020 A.D.[6]
The Ujjain plates	...	V.S. 1078=1021 A.D.[7]
The Depālpur inscription	...	V.S. 1079=1022 A.D.[8]
The Sarasvatī image inscription in the		

1 *Vide ante* Chap. I.
2 *Pc*, p. 22.
3 *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 192-98.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 215-18.
5 *EI*, XI, pp. 181-83 ; *IA*, XLI pp. 201-02.
6 *EI*, XVIII, pp. 320-25.
7 *IA*, VI, pp. 53-54.
8 *IHQ*, VIII, pp. 305-15.

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British Museum	... V.S. 1091=1034 A.D.[1]
Rājamṛgāṅkakaraṇa	... Śaka 964=1042 A.D.[2]
The Tilakwāḍā copper-plate inscription	... V.S. 1103=1046 A.D.[3]
Daśabaliya Chintāmaṇi Sārṇikā	... Śaka 977=1055 A.D.[4]

Thus we find that the earilest dated reference to Bhoja is in 1011 A.D. and the latest in 1055 A.D. and this last would have been the last year of Bhoja, for his successor Jayasiṁha I issued his Māndhātā copper-plate grant in 1055 A.D.[5] Bhoja thus would have ruled between 1011 and 1055 A.D.

Bhoja seems to have been quite young at the time of his accession[6] and was, for the first few years, busy consolidating his position in his own kingdom. His first two inscriptions *i.e.* the Moḍāsā inscription dated 1011 A.D. and the Mahūḍī inscription dated 1018 A.D.[7] do not refer to any of his conquests, which perhaps may mean that by that time Bhoja had not undertaken any expedition worth mentioning. His desire to avenge the insults sustained by his uncle and has ambition to become the sovereign ruler of central India, however, were bound to involve him, sooner or later, in a life and death struggle with his neighbouring kingdoms.

Bhoja's first expedition was probably against Vākpati II's mortal enemies, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī.[8] He appears to

[1] *Rūpam*, 1924, pp. 1-3.
[2] *KHDh*, I, p. 279.
[3] *PTAIOC*, 1919 (Poona Session), pp. 319-26.
[4] *JOR* (Madras), XIX, pt. II, Supplement, p. 1.
[5] *EI*, III, pp. 46-50 ; *vide infra* Chap. VII.
[6] *Paramāravaṁśa-darpaṇa*, p. 60.
[7] *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 192-98 ; *ibid.*, pp. 215-18.
[8] Merutuṅga tells us that once Bhoja was making the necessary arrangements for leading an army against Gujarat. But Gujarat was suffering at the time from great economic distress. Its king Bhīma sent his great Dāmara to the court of Bhoja to dissuade the Paramāra sovereign from pursuing his proposed undertaking. Dāmara managed to succeed in his mission by some remarks at a play arranged by Bhoja. These made Bhoja feel the disgrace incurred by the Paramāras by the death of Muñja at the hands of Tailapa II and prompted the Paramāra king to direct his course against the Karṇāṭa country in place of Gujarat

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have found also willing allies in Gāṅgeyadeva Kalachuri and Rājendra Chola[1] both of whom must have been on bad terms with the Chālukyas on account of the latters' imperial ambitions. The Udaipur *praśasti* and the Kalvan inscription record Bhoja's victory over the Karṇāṭas.[2] Success attended Bhoja's enterprise for several years. During this period certain territories in the north of the Chālukya empire seem to have changed hands. The story recorded in the Bhojacharita that king Bhoja captured Taila and subjected him to the same treatment as Muñja received from Taila, deserves however no credence and should be rejected summarily as a palpable fabrication. Gāṅgeyadeva the ally of Bhoja, is described in a Kalachuri inscription as fond of defeating the king of Kuntala in a clever manner,[3] and as one before whom the Kuntala ceased to wield his spear and wished to run away in haste.[4] Who secured victory, however remains doubtful because the Chālukyan inscriptions are equally eloquent in claiming Jayasiṁha II's (who was evidently Bhoja's contemporary and rival Chālukya ruler),[5] victory over the Paramāras.[6] Among Jayaiṁha II's allies in this war was one of his vassals named Bachirāja who is eulogised for having put the Mālavyas to shame by his victorious arms.[7] The battle between the rival forces was fought on the banks of

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(*Pc*, pp. 30-31). The *Bhojacharita* also, though its account is unhistorical in many aspects, has preserved this tradition of Bhoja's attack on the Karṇāṭa king.

[1] See Kulenur ins., *EI*, XV, p. 331.

[2] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 19 ; *EI*, XIX, pp. 71-72, ll. 6-7.

[3] *CII*, IV, ins. no. 50, p. 256, l. 18.

[4] *Ibid.*, Ins., no. 51, p. 269, l.9.

[5] He ruled between 1015-1042 A.D. *IA*, XLVII, p. 288.

[6] The Kadaṁba inscription of the reign of Jayasiṁha II dated 1019 A.D. tells us that king Jayasiṁha 'was a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja', and that 'he having searched out, beset, pursued, ground down put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava' (*IA*, V, p.17). The Kulenur inscription of the same king dated 1028 A.D. states that Jayasiṁha II routed 'the combined forces of the Cholas, Gāṅge (Chedi) and Bhojarāja' (*EI*, XV, pp. 330-36). It is doubtless an exaggerated claim in face of the inscriptions of Bhoja and his allies.

[7] *Hyderabad Archeaological Series*, No. 8, p. 20, v. 37.

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the Gautama Gaṅgā *i.e.* Godavari[1] and if every thing be taken into consideration, it would appear that the outcome of the first phase of the Mālava-Chālukya struggle was indecisive.[2]

The Udaipur *praśasti* records Bhoja's decisive victory over a powerful pinces named Indraratha who was probably a Somavaṁśī ruler, whose capital was at Ādinagar on the banks of the Mahānadī in Sambhalpur district.[3] If this identification be accepted then this event must have taken place before 1018 A.D., for a little before this Indraratha had been captured by Rājendra Choḷa,[4] or it may be that Bhoja attacked Indraratha as a friend of Rājendra Choḷa in alliance with Gāṅgeya Chedi.[5]

After defeating Indraratha Bhoja directed his attention towards the western coast of India and in this direction he selected Lāṭa for his initial military adventure. His contemporary ruler on the throne of Lāṭa was Kīrttirāja whose Surat grant is dated in 1018 A.D.[6] and whose father Goggirāja was defeated by Bhoja's father Sindhurāja.[7] Hard pressed by Bhoja's armies Kīrttirāja had to surrender his country to the invader.[8] An inscription of Kīrttirāja's grandson Trilochanpāla

[1] The Kadaṁba chieftain Chaṭṭuga or Chaṭṭa is said to have put the Mālava to flight, drunk the water of Gautama Gaṅgā and earned for himself the title 'guardian of the high-land' from Jayasiṁha II. *EI*, XVI, p. 357, v. 10.

[2] On the basis of the following verse in canto I of the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita, cf.*

यशोवतंसं नगरं सुराणां कुर्वन्नगर्वः समरोत्सवेषु
न्यस्तां स्वहस्तेन पुरंदरस्य यः पारिजातस्रजमाससाद ॥

G.H. Ojha and following him Ganguly thought that Bhoja slew Jayasiṁha II on the battlefield (SKI, pt. I, pp. 87-88 ; *GHP*, p. 90). But there is nothing to prove that the verse actually refers to the fight between Jayasiṁha II and Bhoja. Had Jayasiṁha II actually died fighting against Bhoja, the Chālukya inscriptions perhaps would not have been so eloquent as they are about Jayasiṁha II's victory.

[3] *PIHC*, 1940, pp. 66-67.

[4] *SII*, III, pt. III, p. 424.

[5] We make this assumption for otherwise it would have been difficult for Bhoja to have reached Indraratha's capital. Passing through an ally's territory was an easy affair.

[6] *Pāthak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 287-303.

[7] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

[8] According to some scholars Bhoja's adversary, the king of Lāṭa may have been Kīrttirāja's son Vatsarāja or latter's son Tribhuvanapāla

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states thates that Kīrttirāja's fame was temporarily taken away by his enemies.[1] This enemy was perhaps Bhoja whose victory in Lāṭa is sung by the Udaipur *praśasti*.[2] That Lāṭa perhaps remained under the Paramāra sphere of influence throughout the reign of Bhoja is indicated by the fact that on the one hand Bhoja controlled the territory round about Ahmadabad district of Gujarat from where we have found his Moḍāsā copper-plate inscription,[3] and on the other hand he seems to have controlled Nasik district, for according to the Kalvan inscription land was granted in Nasik by a Paramāra feudatory.[4]

The acquistion of Lāṭa brought Bhoja very close to Koṅkaṇa, the territory of the Śilāhāras. What led Bhoja to attack Koṅkaṇa, the territory of his father's allies,[5] is uncertain. D.R. Bhandarkar suggested that Bhoja undertook this expedition to avenge the murder of his uncle Muñja.[6] This argument however does not appear to be convincing for the Śilāhāras were unfriendly towards the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and that might have been one of the reasons that brought about the alliance between the Paramāras and the Śilāhāras during the reign of Sindhurāja.[7] Perhaps, as suggested by V.V. Mirashi, Bhoja's expedition was necessitated because Chhittarāja, the nephew of Arikesarin, usurped the throne after the death of the latter, setting aside the rightful claimant, Arikesarin's son.[8] Bhoja attacked Koṅkaṇa early in 1020 A.D.[9]

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(*Paramāravaṁśa-darpaṇa,* p. 65). But we feel that the king of Lāṭa defeated by Bhoja was Kīrttirāja, for it was after conquering Lāṭa that Bhoja proceeded towards Koṅkaṇa whose conquest he celebrated on January 3rd 1020 A.D. As Kīrttirāja was ruling in 1018 A.D. we think it was probably this ruler who had to face defeat at Bhoja's hands.

1 *IA,* XII, pp. 201-3.

2 *EI,* I, p. 235, v. 19.

3 *EI,* XXXIII, pp. 192-98.

4 *EI,* XIX, pp. 69-75.

5 A Śilāhāra prince was Sindhurāja's ally in his expedition against Vajrāṅkuśa of Ratnapurī. *Vide ante* Chap. V.

6 *IA,* XLI, p. 201.

7 *PIHC,* 1940, pp. 86 ff.

8 For details see *IA,* LXII, p. 107 ; *MSI,* II, pp. 71-72.

9 *EI,* XI. pp. 181-82.

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and occupied it ;[1] and may have reduced the Śilāhāras to his vassalage.[2]

Bhoja celebrated his victory by issuing two land-grants *i.e.* the Bānswārā copper-plate grant was issued on January 3rd, 1020 A.D.[3] and Betmā copper-plate grant was issued in September, 1020 A.D.[4] The occasion for the first was the *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva* and for the second *Koṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijayaparva.* But as there is a difference of not one year but of seven months and ten days between the two grants, the expression cannot obviously refer to one and the same festival observed on a certain fixed day of the year. The reference may be to two different events. *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva* of Bānswārā grant might be something different from the *Koṅkaṇa-vijay-grahaṇa-parva* of the Betmā plates.

Dr. Hultzsch translated *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva* as the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa.[5] D.R. Bhandarkar's translation as the festival day in consequence of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa[6] is perhaps better. D. Sharma however has surmised that *Kaṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva* of the Bānswārā grant may mean the *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-yātrā-parva i.e.* the day on which the Paramāra forces started on their expedition for the conquest of Koṅkaṇa. Seven months and ten days later followed the *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-grahaṇa-parva i.e.* the day on which the forces of Bhoja occupied the whole of Koṅkaṇa.[7] The undated Kalvan inscription of Yaśovarman mentions Koṅkaṇa among the conquests of Bhoja and shows Yaśovarman himself ruling in the Nasik district as a feudatory of Bhoja and holding a fief comprising 1500 villages. Bhoja's Bānswārā and Betmā grants show him making donations to the Brāhmaṇas who had come over from Vatāpī and Mānyakheṭa in the Karṇāta country.

1 *EI*, XVIII, pp. 320-25.

2 Though Bhoja occupied Koṅkaṇa he did not put an end to the ruling dynasty. The Śilāhāras continued to rule over Koṅkaṇa though, perhaps, as the vassals of Bhoja.

3 *EI*, XI, pp. 181-83.

4 *EI*, XVIII, pp. 320-25.

5 *EI*, XI, p. 182.

6 *IA*, XLI, p. 210.

7 *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, V, pp. 61-62.

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On the other hand the Miraj plates dated 1024 A.D. state that king Jayasiṁha Chālukya had seized all the possessions of the overlords of Koṅkaṇa and was staying in his victorious camp in the neighbourhood of Kollāpura (Kolhapur) and planning conquests in the northern regions.[1] Jayasiṁha II's general Chavaṇarassa is described as a pupil of Siṅghaṇa (Jayasiṁha II), the comet to Koṅkaṇa (*Koṅkaṇadhūmaketu*), and the destroyer of Pannala, the well-known fortress in Koṅkaṇa, about 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhapur.[2] Thus it seems that when Bhoja Paramāra got busy in the north, Jayasiṁha Chālukya succeeded in recovering the territorial losses he had incurred earlier at the time of Bhoja's invasion.

Soon after his victory in Koṅkaṇa Bhoja had to stop his aggression in the south. The havoc created by the Ghaznavide invasions made him concentrate his attention on the northen borders.

Bhoja perhaps never came into direct conflict with the Turuṣkas *i.e.* the Muslims, for he never had to fight with the Muslims in defence of his own realm. He is, however, said to have conquered them by means of his mercenaries.[3] As Mahmūd of Ghaznā was at that time raiding India it is not unlikely that the Paramāra forces might have come into conflict with him somewhere. In 1024-26 A.D. Mahmūd marched to Somanātha by way of Jaisalmer, Marwar and Gujarat.[4] Bhīma I, the Chaulukya ruler of the last of these kingdoms, being unable to withstand the Muslim legions took refuge in the fort of Kaṇṭhā.[5] Mahmūd sacked Somanātha but had not the courage to return by the way he came, because on that side lay the armies of the great Indian ruler 'Param Deo', an encounter with whom might have meant defeat and disaster for the Muslim forces. Gardizi, the earliest authority on the subject, describes the situation as follows :

'From that place Mahmūd turned back, and the reason was that Param Deo, who was the greatest king of the Hindus, was in the way and Amīr Mahmūd feared lest this great victory,

1 *EI*, XII, pp. 303-15.
2 *EI*, XVI, pp. 75-81.
3 *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 19.
4 Nazim, M., *Life and Time of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznā*, p. 215.
5 *Ibid.*

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might be spoiled, he did not come back the direct way, but took a guide and marching by the way of Mansūrā and the bank of Sihun went towards Multan. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jats of Sindh. Many animals and large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multan'.[1]

According to some writers the great Hindu ruler who thus frightened away Mahmūd's forces was Vidyādhara Chandella. Others would identify him with Bhīma I Chaulukya[2], and some others would go to the extent of identifying him with the comparatively minor Paramāra ruler of Abu.[3] There are some who think that Paramdeo is Vīramadeva or Vīryarāmadeva who was the great grand-nephew of Vigraharāja II, the Chauhān ruler of Sāmbhar.[4] But we cannot help dissenting from these views. The prince mentioned as Paramdeo cannot be Vidyādhara Chandella, not only because Vidyādhara was never known by that name, but also because Mahmūd avoided Paramdeo on his way back from Somanātha. This way could have been through Paramāra territory or some territory adjoining it, and not through the territory of the Chandellas who were ruling in Bundelkhand. Neither can we accept the identification of Paramdeo with Bhīma I of Gujarat. It is not very reasonable to expect such a strong action from a ruler who was not only young and inexperienced[5] but who had at the first approach of the danger run away into the desert, leaving his people to their fate.[6] Gardizi specifically mentions the fact that Bhīma I fled away when he heard the news of the Sultān's approach to Kanthākoṭa. The Sultān took the fort and gave it to plunder.[7] This leaves no doubt that Paramdeo, who had blocked the way of the Sultān, was certainly different from Bhīma I. Dr. M. Nazim says that Paramdeo was the ruler of Abu. But Gardizi, on whose authority Nazim mainly depends, states nowhere that Paramdeo

1 *Zain-ul-Akhbār*, p. 85.
2 Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 44-47 ; *GHP*, p. 100, fn. 3.
3 Nazim, M., *op. cit.*, p. 119.
4 Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, I, pp. 236-37.
5 Bhīma I perhaps ascended the throne in 1024 A.D., the year of Mahmūd's Somanātha expedition.
6 See above p. 81, fn. 4.
7 *Zain-ul-Akhbār*, p. 85.

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was the ruler of Abu. The Abu chief at that time was Dhandhūka Paramāra, a feudatory of Bhīma Chaulukya.[1] A weak ruler like him cannot be expected to have dared block Mahmūd's way, and he certainly was not the 'greatest ruler of the Hindus'.[2] As to Vīryarāma being Paramdeo, we have to say that the former was never known by the latter name. Vīryarāma Chauhān's career does not seem to have been glorious at all and therefore he does not deserve to be called as the greatest ruler of the Hindus. Paramdeo, therefore, is most probably the corrupt form of Paramāradeva and refers, in all probability, to the great Paramāra ruler Bhoja who had achieved military distinction in many a field and was known to be a sturdy champion of Hinduism. Perhaps Mahmūd's avoiding Bhoja has been construed by the Udaipur *praśasti* into a defeat of the Turuṣkas. Toggala, who is said to have been defeated by Bhoja,[3] might have been a Ghaznavide general.

None of the Paramāra inscriptions have anything to say about the relations between Bhoja and the Chandellas. But the fragmentary Mahoba inscription of the Chandellas informs us that 'Bhojadeva together with Kalachuri Chandra (*i.e.* the moon of the Kalachuris) worshipped full of fear like a pupil this master of warfare, who had caused destruction of the king of Kānyakubja',[4] *i.e.* Vidyādhara Chandella. Bhojadeva of this record has generally been identified with Bhojadeva Paramāra and Kalachuri Chandra with Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri ruler.

D.C. Ganguly thinks that Bhoja attacked the Chandella kingdom but with no favourable result and hence the Mahoba inscription vaunts the superiority of Vidyādhara over Bhoja.[5] V.V. Mirashi, on the other hand, holds that the Mahoba inscription refers to the attack on Rājyapāla of Kanauj for his abject submission to Mahmūd, in which the Chandella prince Vidyādhara took a leading part and the Paramāra king

[1] *Vide infra* Chap. XI.

[2] For all we know Dhandhūka might have been in revolt against Bhīma I at that time!

[3] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 19.

[4] समरगुरुमुपास्त प्रौढभीस्तत्प्रभाजं सहकलचुरिचन्द्रः शिष्यदण्डभोजदेवः ॥ *EI*, I, p. 222.

[5] *GHP*, p. 104.

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Bhoja and Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva fought under the leadership of Vidyādhara in his expedition against Rājyapāla.[1]

In the absence of any other corroborative evidence it is difficult to agree with Dr. Ganguly that Bhoja Paramāra came into direct conflict with Vidyādhara Chandella. Neither is it necessary to agree with V.V. Mirashi, for an ambitious and powerful king like Bhoja could have hardly relished the idea of playing the second fiddle to Vidyādhara Chandella in his attack on Kanauj.

Actually, the proud claim made for Vidyādhara might have been inspired by the repulse of the Paramāras by Kīrttirāja Kachchhapaghāṭa, a feudatory of the Chandellas,[2] from before the walls of the fort of Gwalior. We are told in the Sāsbahu inscription that the Kachchhapaghāṭa prince Kīrttirāja, 'defeated the countless host of the prince of Malwa, and that the Mālava army received such a terrible shock on the occasion that spears fell from their hands through fear and were subsequently collected by the villagers (apparently of Gwalior) and heaped around their houses'.[3] As the Kachchhapaghāṭa prince was a comparatively minor chief, he was apparently no match for the forces of the Paramāras. As such in all probability the Kachchhapaghāṭa prince accomplished this feat with the assistance of his overlord, *i.e.* Vidyādhara. It is perhaps this victory of the Kachchhapaghāṭa prince assisted by Vidyādhara over Bhoja perhaps allied with Gāṅgeyadeva, that has been referred to in the Mahoba inscription. This incident may have taken place a little prior to Mahmūd's attack on Gwalior in 1022 A.D.[4]

Bhoja, however, might have secured the friendship of the Kachchhapaghāṭas of Dūbkuṇḍ who were the sworn enemies of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, and he availed himself of the services of the Kachchhapaghāṭa prince Abhimanyu[5] in an

[1] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. xc.

[2] Mitra, S.K., *Early Rulers of Khajurāho*, pp. 83-84 ; *DHNI*, II, p. 824.

[3] *IA*, XV, p. 36, v. 10.

[4] *DHNI*, II, p. 692, fn. 1.

[5] The Kachchhapaghāṭa prince Arjuna of Dūbkuṇḍ (1004-54 A.D.) had helped Vidyādhara Chandella in defeating and slaying Rājyapāla Pratīhāra of Kanauj (*EI*, II, p. 237). He was thus probably a feudatory

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attack on Kanauj. The Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that Bhoja conquered a Gurjara king.[1] As Bhīma I, the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat, has been referred to separately in the same line, the Gurjara king defeated by Bhoja might have been a Pratīhāra chief of Kanauj. Bhoja's influence in this area is indicated also by the Basāhī plates of Govindachandra[2] and the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*[3] of Merutuṅga. And though no definite conclusion can be drawn from these ambiguous and late references the possibility of Bhoja's attack on Kanauj is obvious.

Perhaps more creditable from the military point of view than the last feat was Bhoja's victory over the powerful Chedi ruler, Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya, who had defeated the king of Gauḍa and had carried his arms up to the Himālayas.[4] As we have seen above early in his reign Bhojadeva perhaps had formed a confederacy with Gāṅgeyadeva and Rājendra Choḷa to attack the Chālukya ruler Jayasiṁha II. This alliance might have continued for some time, but soon the allies seem to have fallen out presumably in the absence of a common danger. Both the Kalvan and the Udaipur inscriptions[5] refer to Bhoja's victory over a Chedi king whose identity is disclosed by a verse of the *Pārijātamañjarī* of Madana. It states that Bhojadeva fulfilled soon his desire of celebrating that festival, the defeat of Gāṅgeya.[6]

On the western frontier the Paramāra sovereignty remained intact in the country of Mewar during this period. Mewar

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of the Chandellas. It seems that after the demise of Vidyādhara, Bhoja's influence in central Indian politics increased appreciably. Arjuna's son Abhimanyu hence seems to have transferred his allegiance to Bhoja, of whom it is said :

'The highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhojadeva, has widely celebrated the skill which he (*i.e.* Abhimanyu) showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons'. *EI*, II, p. 238, ll. 17-18 ; see also *DHNI*, II, p. 870.

[1] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 19.
[2] *IA*, XIV, p. 103, ll. 3-5.
[3] *Pc*, p. 31 ; see below p. 90.
[4] *CII*, IV, Intro., pp. Xc and Xci.
[5] *EI*, XIX, pp. 69-75 ; *EI*, I, p. 235.
[6] विस्फूर्जद्विषमेषुवेधविधुरां राधां विधत्ते स्म य-
स्तूर्ण्णं पूर्ण्णमनोरथश्चिरमभूद्गाङ्गं यभङ्गोत्सवे॥ *EI*, VIII, p. 101, v. 3.

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played an important role throughout the triangular struggle that commenced as early as 10th century A.D. between the Paramāras of Malwa, the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī for the establishment of supremacy in western India. In the first phase of this struggle, the Paramāras emerged as the most successful power. Vākpati II attacked Āghaṭa[1] and annexed it along with the adjoining territory to his kingdom.[2] Since then the Paramāras had exercised dominent influence in western Indian politics. This preponderant position was made feasible during the first half of the eleventh century A.D. due to two favourable circumstances, fiirstly, during this period the Paramāras were fortunate enough to haye a powerful prince of the calibre of Bhoja at the helm of affairs and secondly, their rivals *i.e.* the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas were busy repelling Muslim invasions.

Chitor continued to be a dependency of Malwa during the reign of Bhoja. In the thirtees of the eleventh century A.D. we find the fort of Chitor being honoured by the presence of the Paramāra ruler Bhoja.[3] The Chirwa inscription informs us that Bhoja built the Śiva temple of Tribhuvananārāyaṇa[4] in the fort of Chitor.[5] His control over the Guhila territory is implied also by his Ujjain copper-plate inscription dated 1021 A.D. which records a grant made by the king in Nāgadraha-paśchima-pathaka, which has been identified with Nāgdā in Mewar.[6] The Kumbhalgarh inscription refers to a lake called Bhojasara and a temple Dhāreśvara[7] near that city,[8] which are the monuments of Bhoja's influence in that territory.[9]

[1] *EI*, X, p. 20. vv. 9-10 ; *vide ante* Chap. V.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] We are told by the *Tīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri that Bhoja was living in Chitor in 1031 A.D. *Vide, Vividha-Tīrthakalpa* (*SJS*, No. 10), p. 16.

[4] *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa* was one of the titles of Bhoja. *Nāgarī Pracharinī Patrikā*, III, pp. 1-18.

[5] *EI*, XXII, p. 288 ; *ibid.*, p. 290, v. 31.

[6] *IA*, VI, pp. 53-54 ; Raychoudhuri, G.C., *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[7] It was one of the epithets of Bhoja.

[8] *EI*, XXIV, p. 317, vv. 25-26 ; *ibid.*, p. 318, vv. 34-35.

[9] Shri Akshayakirti Vyas, the editor of the inscription, feels however that the lake Bhojasara was constructed by Bhoja, an early Guhila chief. *EI*, XXIV, p. 306.

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In all probablity the Guhilots of Mewar, during this period, were vassals of the Paramāras.[1]

Nor do these victories, great as they were, exhaust the catalogue of Bhoja's successes. Turning northward, he led his forces into Sapādlakṣa. We learn from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of Jayānaka that Vākpati II, the Chāhamāna ruler of Śākambharī, slew in battle Ambā Prasāda, the son and successor of Śaktikumāra Guhila.[2] This particular move on the part of the Chāhamāna prince constituted a challenge to the authority of the Guhila suzerain in Dhārā *i.e.* Bhoja ; and it is, perhaps, because of this that the *Śūrjanacharita* credits Vallabha *i.e.* Vākpati II, with the defeat of Bhoja of Malwa.[3] Retribution was, however, not long delayed. Vīryarāma, the son and successor of Vākpati II, had to pay by his life the penalty for the offence commited by his predecessor. The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* tells us that the glory of Vīryarāma Chauhān was destroyed by Bhoja, the ruler of Avanti.[4]

In his struggle against the Chāhamānas, Bhoja was probably assisted by his general Surāditya.[5] We are told by the Tilakwāḍā plates that Surāditya was helpful to Bhojadeva in making his rule firm by slaughtering the (enemy) warriors in the battle with Sāhavāhana, as well as the warriors of other princes.[6] No account is given of Sāhavāhana who was subdued by Bhojadeva with the help of Surāditya. D.C. Ganguly has identified this

[1] While mentioning Vairāṭ's predecessor Yogarāja, the Kumbhalagarh inscription says that the kingdom passed out of his hands ; thereafter Vairāṭ, a descendant of Allaṭa became the sovereign.

Cf. ततश्च योगराजोभून्मेदपाटे महीपतिः ॥ अपि राज्ये
स्थिते तस्मिन् तच्छाखा नोच्छ्रयं गता ॥४३॥
पश्चादुल्लटसंताने वैरटोभून्नरेश्वरः ॥ ततः
श्रीहंसपालश्च वैरिसिंहो नृपाग्रणीः ॥४४॥ *EI*, XXIV, pp. 324-25.

On the basis of these verses Shri A.K. Vyas thinks that Yogarāja was deposed and the pro-Paramāra chief Vairāṭ was established on the throne of Mewar by Bhoja. But we have no independent evidence to prove Yogarāja's deposition by Bhoja, though Bhoja exercised an effective control over the Mewar affairs.

[2] *PV*, canto V, p. 115, vv. 58-60.

[3] Canto VI, v. 18.

[4] *PV*, canto V, p. 117, v. 67.

[5] *PTAIOC*, 1919 (Poona Session), p. 324.

[6] *Ibid.*, ll 4-5.

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Sāhavāhana ruler with a Chamba prince, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Sālivāhanadeva.[1] He thinks that Bhoja perhaps defeated this prince on the historic battlefield of Kurukṣetra.[2] But the great distance of Chamba from Malwa and the existence of the hostile territories that intervened between Malwa and Chamba make us agree with Dr. Diskalkar's view that the Sāhavāhana of the Tilakwāḍā plates stands for the word Chāhamāna, as the change of *sa* to *cha* and *va* to *ma* is common enough in ancient records.[3]

The Paramāra forces perhaps occupied Śākambharī for a while as a result of this victory,[4] but Aṇahilla, the Chāhamāna chief of Nāḍol came to the rescue of his kinsmen. He assisted Chāmuṇḍarāja, the successor of Vīryarāma Chauhān, in freeing Śākambharī.[5] Soon after that he seems to have killed the Paramāra commander Sāḍha who might have been stationed in the Chāhamāna dominions by Bhojadeva.[6]

The stage for the protracted struggle between the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras was already set. Sindhurāja's discomfiture at the hands of the Chaulukya prince Chāmuṇḍarāja was quite fresh in the memory of Bhoja, who had from theb eginning made up his mind to wash off that blot from the fair name of his family.[7] Hemachandra does not enlighten us with any information regarding Bhoja's fight with Bhīma I, the successor of Durlabharāja.

[1] *GHP*, p. 109.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[3] *EI*, XXI, pp. 158-59.
[4] Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 34.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[6] दृष्टः कैर्न चतुर्भुजः स समरे शाकम्भरीं यो बलाज्-
जग्राहानु जघान मालवपतेर्-भोजस्य साढाह्वयं ।
दंडाधीशमपारसैन्यविभवं · · · · *EI*, IX, p. 75. v. 17 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 35, fn. 16.

[7] In the early years of his reign Bhoja might have come into conflict with Durlabharāja (*c.* 1009-23 A.D.), though there is no clear evidence for it. Hemachandra's account of Durlabhadevī's *svayaṁvara* at Nāḍol (*DV*, canto VII) being based on Indumati's *svayaṁvara* in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, cannot be regarded as any good evidence for the fight between Durlabharāja Chaulukya and the numerous rulers, including the ruler of Malwa, who had come to win the princess in marriage. Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 40, fn. 41 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 124 and fn. 30.

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But Merutuṅga gives us a long account of the relations between Bhīma I and Bhoja. He tells us that in the beginning there was complete friendship between the two monarchs, but Bhoja wanted to put an end to these peaceful relations by winning a victory against the Gujarat ruler. In a certain year, when owing to the failure of rains, Gujarat was in the throes of a famine, Bhīma I was informed by his spies that Bhoja had made extensive preparations to invade Gujarat. Bhīma I became very anxious and deputed his diptomatic agent Dāmara to dissuade Bhoja from invading Gujarat. Dāmara succeeded in diverting Bhoja's attention away from Gujarat and in maintaintng cordial relations between the two courts for some time. But he could only postpone the immediate hostilities. On a latter occasion, when Bhīma I was engaged in a war in Sind, says Merutuṅga, Bhoja got the opportunity to carry out his original plans. He sent his general Kulachandra to attack Gujarat. Kulachandra sacked Aṇhilapaṭṭaṇa, the capital of the Chaulukyas, sowed *cowrīes* at the gate of the royal palace and forced the chief minister of Gujarat to give a *jayapatra*.[1] The loss suffered by the Chaulukyas was so great that 'the sack of Kulachandra' has become proverbial.[2]

Though every detail given by Merutuṅga may not be historical, Bhoja's attack on Bhīma I (after the Paramāra attack on the Karṇāṭas and during the time of Bhīma I's expedition to Sind), may be taken to be a fact. Bhoja's victory against the Chaulukyas is confirmed also by the Udaipur *praśasti*.[3] Bhoja was rendered assistance in this venture by Satyarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa.[4]

Bhoja may have even provoked his kinsman Dhandhūka, the Paramāra chief of Chandrāvatī and a feudatory of Bhīma I, not to accept the sovereignty of the latter and Dhandhūka may have facilitated Bhoja's attack on Gujarat. And perhaps it was for this that Dhandhūka had to quit his kingdom and seek refuge

[1] *Pc*, pp. 32-33.
Jayapatra=a document testifying that the party receiving it had defeated their opponents. *Jayapatra* is known to have been in vogue in religious and literary disputations.

[2] *HMHI*, III, p. 157.

[3] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 19.

[4] Pañhera ins., *EI*, XXI, pp. 46-50 ; *vide infra* Chap. XI.

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with Bhoja when the latter was staying at Chitrakūṭa.[1] Dhandhūka, however, was won over by his former master by the diplomatic intervention of Vimala.[2] Pūrṇapāla, the son of Dhandhūka, perhaps received the assistance of Bhoja in regaining his patrimony.[3]

At the height of his power Bhoja must have, directly or indirectly, controlled the destinies of many lands. Some rulers he had conquered, others looked up to him for the direction of their policy. 'He who resembled king Pṛthu', states the Udaipur *praśasti*, 'possessed the earth from Kailāśa, up to the Malaya mountain, up to the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun ; he scattered in (all) directions, the weighty crowd of earth-supporters, easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow and gave the highest joy to the earth'.[4] The same idea is conveyed by the alleged prophecy about Bhoja that he would rule over Dakshiṇāpatha and Gauḍa.[5] When he marched out for conquests, the poets sang :

'The Chola is entering the bosom of the sea, the Āndhra king has repaired to a hole in a mighty mountain, the king of Karṇāṭa does not wear his turban, the king of Gujarat has fled to the mountain torrents, the war-like Chedi monarch is trembling, the king of Kanauj is here bent double with terror, O Bhoja ! the fear of thy army alarms all'.[6]

Poetic exaggeration, of course, but not absolutely without truth, for Bhoja at some time or the other did come into conflict with most of these rulers.[7]

[1] *EI*, IX, pp. 148-58 ; *vide infra* Chap. XI.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] आ कैलासान्मलयगिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्द्वियादा-
भुक्ता पृथ्वी पृथुनरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन ।
उन्मूल्योर्व्वीभरगुरु(ग)णा लीलया चापयज्या
क्षिप्ता दिक्षु क्षितिरपि परां प्रीतिमापादिता च ॥१७॥ *EI*, I, p. 235.

[5] See above p. 74.

[6] *Pc*, p. 31.

[7] A fragmentary Yajvapāla inscription refers to one Bhuvanapāla as having been seated on half of the throne of king Bhoja of Dhārā (*EI*, XXXIII, p. 69, v. 13). This Bhoja has been identified with Bhoja I Paramāra (*ibid.*, p. 67). Bhuvanapāla's great-grandson was a contemporary of Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa (*c.* 1231-54 A.D.). As Bhoja Paramāra

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But whether this imperialistic policy did ultimately any good to Malwa may now be questioned, even though Bhoja may have been compelled to follow it as a legacy from his predecessors. Though a great general, Bhoja was by no means a Samudragupta or a Napoleon. As he advanced in years, he probably devoted more and more of his time to cultural pursuits and left the actual fighting to his generals, with results that were far from beneficial to his widely flung dominions.[1] This friend of poets failed to become a friend of the rulers.

About the middle of the 11th century A.D. a series of calamities overtook the Paramāra empire. For a few years after the death of the Karṇāṭa ruler Jayasiṁha II, there had been a sort of truce between the Paramāras and the Chālukyas. But about 1047 A.D. Jayasiṁha II's son and successor Someśvara I defeated Bhoja and sacked Dhārā. A Kannaḍa verse in an inscription from Nander,[2] dated Ś. 969=1047 A.D. states that Someśvara took the lives of the enemy kings of Magadha, Kaliṅga and Aṅga ; forced the kings of Koṅkaṇa to come and prostrate themselves at his feet by the ferocity of his attack ; caused even the proud Mālaveśvara to supplicate to him in his own city of Dhārā.[3] The same inscription mentions the Brāhmaṇa general Nāgavarma, who was the king's right hand man in all his principal wars, and gives him the significant title *Vindhyādhipa-Malla*.[4] A part of the inscription seems to be nothing but *praśasti*. The war in Koṅkaṇa and Malwa is

Contd. from previous page)
and Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa are separated by nearly two centuries, it seems to be too long a period to be covered by four generations. In that case either the reference to Bhuvanapāla's relations with Bhoja, as referred to in this inscription, should be taken as a mere poetic boast or Bhoja here may refer to a descendant of the famous Bhoja of the Paramāra family.

[1] As we have seen above, in his encounter with Vidyādhara Chandella of Mahoba Bhoja was not very successful. Kīrittirāja, the Kachchhapaghāṭa ruler of Gwalior, claims to have defeated the countless hosts of the ruler of Malwa. Aṇahilla of Nāḍol slew Bhoja's general Sāḍha and captured Śākambharī which had been in the hands of the Paramāras since the death of its ruler Vīryarāma.

[2] Detailes from Mr. V. Venkatarayan's *Index of the unpublished Chālukya Inscriptions in the Hyderabad Museum;* also *YEHD*, p. 330, fn. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

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however attested by an inscription from Nāgai, dated 1058 A.D., stating that Madhūsūdana the son of Kālidāsa, won success in Koṅkaṇa and Malwa.[1] The king of Koṅkaṇa and the Vindhya chieftain Malla who was decapitated by Nāgavarma, may have been in league with Bhoja or may have acknowledged his supremacy, and thus became proper object of attack by the Chālukyan generals. While the Nander inscription says only that Bhoja had to supplicate in his own city of Dhārā, the Nāgai record states that the city was burnt and Māṇḍavā was captured.[2] The Nāgai inscription also mentions the storming of Ujjainī with its strong ramparts and the burning of the city on that occasion.[3] The event is referred to in the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*.[4] Other towns and villages must have been similarily sacked. Though Bhoja recovered Dhārā after a while, Someśvara's attack had some important repurcussions. Not only did it mean loss of the Paramāra territory in the Deccan,[5] it exploded also the general belief in Bhoja's invincibility. His enemies reared up their heads everywhere. There were, perhaps, internal dissensions too. Bhoja was now old, yet he tried his best to meet the onset of the disasters.

Early in his reign Bhoja had humiliated both the Chedis of Tripurī and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. Karṇa Chedi, the son

1 *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 8, p. 13, v. 43.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 Bilhaṇa says that in a battle with Āhavamalla when Dhārā, the glory of the Paramāra lords of Malwa, was stormed, king Bhoja fled away and after that the Chālukyas took possession of the city. *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, canto I, vv. 90-94.

5 Someśvara I's generals succeeded in re-establishing Chālukyan authority pretty firmly over the whole country south of Narmada. The invasion of Malwa and the raid of Dhārā were by way of teaching a lesson to Bhoja who had now to give up all his designs of meddling with the politics of the Deccan as he had done in the earlier years of his reign.

From the days of Sīyaka II, Godavari appears to have been the southern limit of the Paramāra kingdom ; but the Sītābaldi ins. dated Ś. 1008=1085 A.D. (*EI*, III, pp. 304-6), proves that by that time the boundary of the Chālukya empire had been pushed northward upto Bhandak in the Chanda Dist. This was probably the achievement of Someśvara I, who at one time brought the whole of Malwa kingdom under his control.

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and successor of Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya, and Bhīma I of Gujarat had now a good chance to retaliate. Malwa lay bleeding from the injuries inflicted by the Chālukya invaders and their myrmidons. Both Karṇa Chedi and Bhīma Chaulukya, who knew how the matters stood, decided to invade Malwa and to divide it between themselves.[1] The aged Paramāra warrior, Rājā Bhoja made preparations for sustaining a long seige ; but he fell ill and died. The invaders attacked Dhārā with redoubled vigour and captured it.[2] This event must be placed in 1055 A.D.[3]

If success in the field be any criterion of greatness, Bhoja would only be one among the eminent military leaders of the period, great no doubt but not unequalled. Bhoja was great as a military leader. He had made his prowess felt in the southern as well as northern regions and had beaten on the battlefield some of the greatest rulers of his time. He had attained the glory of a *Sārvabhauma*. Looking at his strong and extensive political power the claim of the Udaipur *praśasti* that he possessed the earth from Kailāśa to the Malaya hills and from the setting to the rising sun, is not an exaggeration. But he was greater still as an exponent and champion of Hindu culture. He occupies in the Hindu mind a place second only to that of Vikrama of legendry fame, due to his manysided achievements. The Udaipur *praśasti* praises him thus :

'He accomplished, ordered, gave and knew what was not in the power of anybody else ; what other praise can be given to the illustrious Bhoja, the poet-king'.[4]

This and much more he must have been if he composed or even assisted in the composition of the large number of works ascribed to him. He is spoken of highly as a poet by writers like Chhittapa, Deveśvara, Vināyaka and Śaṅkara ; as a grammarian he is mentioned by great authorities like Kṣīrasvāmin, Sāyana and Mahīpāla ; Bhāvamiśra and Mādhava quote his medical opinions ; and Daśabala, Alhadanātha, Raghunandana and

[1] *Pc*, pp. 51-52.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] The first inscription of Bhoja's successor Jayasiṁha I was issued from Māndhātā on the 13th of the dark half of Āśāḍha of V.S. 1112= 1055 A.D. *Vide infra* Chap. VII.

[4] साधितं विहितं दत्तं ज्ञातं तद्यत्न केनचित् ।
किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्री भोजस्य प्रशस्यते ॥१८॥ *EI*, 1, p. 235.

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Vijñāneśvara recognise his contribution to the Dharmaśāstras.[1] The *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* compares him with the great literary men like Subandhu, Bhāsa, Guṇādhya and Bāṇa. A glowing tribute is paid to his intellectual acumen and statesmanship in comparig him with great men like Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Uddhava, Chāṇakya and Dharmakīrti.[2] Of the compositions definitely ascribed to Bhoja we might mention the *Kūrmaśataka* found engraved on the slabs in the Kamāla-Maula mosque, at one time the celebrated *Sarasvatī-bhavana*. Bhoja's commentary on the *Yogasūtras* of Pātañjali, though brief, is inferior to none. The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and *Yuktikalpataru* are voluminous treatises on arts and architecture needing careful study. The *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śraṅgāraprakāśa* form two of the most comprehensive works on Sanskrit rhetorics. Besides these, we have his works on astronomy, medicine, religion, lexicography, grammar, music and *subhāṣitas*.[3] Though it is difficult to believe that he could have written so many books in a life devoted also to pursuits other than literary, the fact that they bear his name and were persumably written under his guidance vouches for the universality of his interests and his patronage of scholars, poets, philosophers, artists and scientists.[4] Both Bilhaṇa, the writer of the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita* and Kalhaṇa, the author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* praise Bhoja for his patronage of poets.[5] Bilhaṇa, even though a court-poet of a hostile dynasty, could not help voicing the praise of Bhoja, the incomparable. His regret was that he never came personally into contact with Bhoja.[6] Mammaṭa remarked that it was due to Bhoja's benefactions that there was so much wealth in the houses of the learned.[7]

[1] Aufrecht, *Catalogues Catalogorum*, pt. I, p. 418 ; *ibid.*, pt. II, p. 95 ; *vide infra* Chap. XVI.

[2] *SMK*, p. 1.

[3] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *VCh*, XVIII, v. 96 ; *RT*, pt. I, book IV, v. 259.

[6] The king had passed away sometime before the poet reached Dhārā, a city of cooing pigeons, which seemed to lament thus :

'A real ruler was Bhoja. There can be no comparison between him and these vile and vulgar rulers. Woe is to me that you did not come while he was alive'. *VCh*, XVIII, v. 96.

[7] *Kāvyaprakāśa*, X, v. 114.

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Bhoja was also a magnificent builder. Putting into practice the principles of architecture that he enunciated in his treatises, the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and the *Yuktikalpataru*, he rebuilt Dhārā, adorning it with temples and the finest buildings.[1] The Bhojaśālā of Dhārā was a temple, a university and a college at the same time. In it was enshrined the famous image of the goddess Sarasvatī.[2] The old fortifications of Dhārā and Mandu are also attributed to him. Though none of his buildings have survived in its entirety, we can credit the following statement of the Udaipur *praśasti* that, he made the world (*jagati*, which also means a site for building) worthy of its name by covering it all around with temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Suṇḍhīra, Kāla, Anala and Rudra.[3]

About sixteen miles away from Bhopal, in the Goharganj Tehsil of the Raisan District, M.P., are the remains of Bhojapura, an ancient town founded by Bhoja. An inscription engraved in the characters of the 11th century on the pedastal of a colossal image of a Jaina *tīrthāṅkara* in an old Jaina temple belonging to the reign of king Bhojadeva, has been discovered at Bhojapura.[4] This two lined epigraph refers to *Rājādhirāja-parameśvara* Bhojadeva, thus associating the name of king Bhoja with Bhojapura.[5]

Not far from it was the extensive Bhojapura lake, destroyed later by Shah Hussain of Mandu.[6] Modern Bhopal is Bhoja's *pāla i.e.* the bund of the Bhojapura lake.[7] The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* records that Bhoja built the *Pāpasūdana-tīrtha* at Kapoteśvara, modern Kothar in Kashmir.[8] The remains of the enclosure around the tank still exist and according to M.A. Stein testify that this tank has been formed by closing artificially the gully in which the spring rises.[9] Bhoja is said to have washed his face daily with the waters of this *tīrtha*, despatched to him by

1 *Pc*, p. 46 ; *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
2 *Rūpam*, January 1924, p. 1.
3 *EI*, I, pp. 235-36, v. 20.
4 *Indian Archaeology, 1959-60 — A Review*, p. 57; *EI*, XXXV, p. 185.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *IA*, XVII, p. 351.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *RT*, VIII, vv. 190-93.
9 *Ibid.*, Stein's note.

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Padmarāja, a betel-seller, high in favour with Ananta, the ruler of Kashmir.[1]

Bhoja was a benevolent ruler. Firishta tells us that 'twice yearly Rājā Bhoja gave a great feast which lasted forty days; during which all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine; and at the end of the feast new clothes and ten *miskals* were presented to each guest'.[2] That such a traditional account was known even to a Muslim historian speaks much for Bhoja's wide-spread renown. He transferred his capital from Ujjain to Dhārā.[3] Rohaka was the Prime Minister of the kingdom[4] and Kulachandra,[5] Sāḍha[6] and Surāditya[7] were his three famous generals.

Bhoja was great as a conqueror, as a poet, as a builder and as a ruler.[8] He was certainly one of the greatest sovereigns of ancient India.

[1] *RT*, VIII, vv. 192-93 ; also Stein's note.
[2] *TF*, I, Intro., p. LXXVI.
[3] *Pc*, p. 46 ; Albirunī, who visited India in 1030 A.D. describes Dhārā as the capital of Malwa. (Sachau's translation, I, p. 202.)
[4] *Pc*, p. 25.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
[6] *EI*, IX, p. 75.
[7] *PCAIOC*, 1919 (Poona Session), p. 319.
[8] For more details *vide infra* Chaps. XIII, XIV, XV and XVI.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PARAMĀRAS ON THE DEFENSIVE

THE OUTLINES of the Paramāra history become blurred for a while with the passing away of the mighty figure of Bhoja. The era of the Paramāra ascendancy was over and thenceforward the Paramāras mainly played a defensive role in Indian politics.

Jayasiṁha I : 1055-c. 1070 A.D.

Bhoja's death, at a time when Malwa was besieged by the combined forces of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat from the west and the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala from the east, landed the country into chaos.[1] Bhoja did not probably leave behind any son,[2] at least none worthy to succeed him in those days of trouble when the very existence of the Paramāra state of Malwa was threatened. It was enough to have external trouble, to this were now added the tribulations consequent on conflicts incidental to the unsettled succession.[3] Jayasiṁha I, who is known to us

[1] The *Pc* places the invasion towards the end of Bhoja's reign (*Pc*, pp. 50-51), but the Udaipur *praśasti* and the Nagpur Museum Stone inscription say that the trouble started after the death of Bhoja. (*EI*, I, pp. 222-38 ; *EI*, II, pp. 180-95). Can we not take it to mean that the invasion too came after Bhoja's death ?

[2] 11. 6-7 of the Moḍāsā plates of Bhojadeva refer to Vatsarāja as a subordinate ruler of Bhoja, ruling over Mohaḍāvasakamaṇḍala and he is described as *Bhotkaramahārājaputra*. The epithet *mahārājaputra* has led D.C. Sircar to presume that Vatsarāja perhaps was as yet an unknown son of Bhoja (*EI*, XXXIII, p. 193). That Vatsarāja was only a feudatory chief and not a son of Bhoja, is proved by another source. The poet Nayanandi of Bhoja's court has referred to *Vachchharāja* (*i.e.* Vatsarāja), along with others, as the *māṇḍalika* of Bhoja. He says :

जहिं वच्छराउ पुणु पुहइ वच्छु हुंतउ पुह ईसरु सूदवत्थु
होएप्पिणु पत्थएहरियराउ, मंडलिउ विक्कमाइच्चु जाउ ॥ संधि २, पत्र ८ ॥

Anekānta, Nov. 1956, p. 99.

[3] According to the Nagpur *praśasti* the kingdom was a *kulyākule* on the death of Bhoja. *Kulya* here should be taken in the sense of kinsmen. The expression signifies that after Bhoja's death, the kingdom was in a state of disturbance owing to the rising of the scions of the (Paramāra) family.

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from two inscriptions, *viz* the Māndhātā plates issued from Dhārā in 1055 A.D. (V.S. 1112)[1] and the Panhera inscription of 1059 A.D. (V.S. 1116), of his feudatory chief Maṇḍalīka of Vāgaḍa,[2] probably was the immediate successor of Bhoja, and perhaps one of those claimants who fought for the throne of Malwa, after the demise of Bhoja the Great.[3]

These internal dissensions weakened the Paramāra kingdom considerably and the invaders probably succeeded not only in capturing Dhārā,[4] the capital of Malwa, but also in dethroning Jayasiṁha I, thus compelling him to seek the aid of the Western Chālukya king Someśvara I Āhavamalla, the erstwhile invader and arch enemy of Malwa.[5] But on this occasion Someśvara I thought it politic to reverse his policy towards the Paramāras. He perhaps realised the potentiality of danger to his own kingdom which might result if Bhīma I Chaulukya and Karṇa Chedi were

[1] *EI*, III, pp. 46-50.

[2] *EI*, XXI, pp. 42-50.

[3] It is not known how Jayasiṁha I was related to Bhoja. In his Māndhātā plates, Jayasiṁha, no doubt, describes himself as the *pād-ānudhyāta* of Bhoja, but this does not necessarily indicate that he was his son. It is worth pointing out that no record either of Udayāditya or of any of his successors, mentions Jayasiṁha I, even when the genealogy is taken back to Bhoja (Nagpur *praśasti*, *EI*, II, p. 185 ; Udaipur *praśasti*, *EI*, I, pp. 232-38 ; Māndhātā plates of Devapāla, *EI*, IX, pp. 108-9). This can hardly be regarded as accidental. It seems that Bhoja left behind no son and in the chaos that followed his death, several of his relations came forward to claim the Paramāra throne. Udayāditya and Jayasiṁha I were two among those rival chiefs. The success of Jayasiṁha I must have frustrated the ambition of Udayāditya for a while. That is why he is not described as a *pād-ānudhyāta* of Jayasiṁha I. Throughout his reign Jayasiṁha I was practically a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas, the bitter and long standing enemies of the Paramāras. He must therefore have been regarded as a disgrace to the Paramāra house and as one whose name did not deserve to be included in its official genealogies. Udayāditya therefore was always described in his own as well as his successors records as meditating on the feet of Bhoja and not his immediate predecessor, Jayasiṁha I.

[4] V. 9 of the Vāḍnagar *praśasti* states that with his cavalry Bhīma I captured Dhārā the capital of the *Mālavachakravartin*. *EI*, I, p. 297 ; see also *Pc*, pp. 51-52.

[5] The Western Chālukyas and the Paramāras were inveterate foes and their hostilities continued for generations. On a previous occasion Someśvara Āhavamalla himself had attacked Malwa and sacked Dhārā. *Vide ante* Chap. VI, pp. 91-92.

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allowed to retain their hold on Malwa. He, therefore, resolved to support Jayasiṁha I's cause and sent his son Vikramāditya VI to help Jayasiṁha I. Vikramāditya VI succeeded in repulsing the invaders and restoring Jayasiṁha I on the throne of Malwa. He may have received also, Jaysiṁha I's daughter in marriage.[1] These encounters could have taken place sometime before 1055 A.D., for the Māndhātā plates dated in that year show that Jayasiṁha I was firmly established on the throne in that year.

Sometime before 1059 A.D., Jayasiṁha I came into conflict with a general named Kāṇha. We are told by v. 36 of the Panhera inscription that Jayasiṁha I's feudatory, Maṇḍalīka of Vāgaḍa took general Kāṇha prisoner with his elephants and horses and handed him over to Jayasiṁha I.[2] Who this hostile commander was and how and where he came in conflict with the Paramāra forces, remains unknown.

D.C. Ganguly thinks that after regaining his throne with the help of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, Jayasiṁha I became a staunch supporter of the Chālukya imperialism and invaded the Eastern Chālukya kingdom of Veṅgī in alliance with Chālukya Vikramāditya, and sometime after 1062 A.D. the combined forces of the Paramāras and the Chālukyas occupied Veṅgī. Dr. Ganguly further states that the Eastern Chālukyas solicited the aid of Choḷa Vīrarājendra, and in the encounter that took place, the Karṇātas and the Paramāras were worsted and the younger brother of Jayasiṁha I with many other generals lost his life.[3]

D.C. Ganguly has based the above theory on the evidence supplied by the Koruvur inscription of the fourth year of Vīrarājendra, and the Maṇimangalam inscription of the fifth year (1067 A.D.) of his reign. The former record states, 'Vīrarājendra despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads surmounted by garlands (won) on the battlefields, of the kings of Pottapi, whose horses chafed under the bridle of Vāraṇ, of the (Keraḷa),

[1] स मालवेन्दुं शरणं प्रविष्टमकण्टके स्थापयति स्म राज्ये ।
कन्याप्रदानच्छलतः क्षितीशाः सर्वस्वदानं बहवोऽस्य चक्रुः ॥ *VCh*, canto III, v. 67.

[2] येनादाय रणेकन्हं दंडाधीशं महाबलं ।
अर्प्पितं जयसिंहाय साश्वं गजसमन्वितं ॥ *EI*, XXI, p. 48.

[3] *GHP*, pp. 125-26.

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(who wore) large ankle-rings, (and) of the younger brother of Ja(na)nāṭha of Dhārā. (He caused to be) trampled down by a furious most elephant, the king of the South (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍya)'.[1] The same lines are repeated in the Tirumukkadal inscription of Vīrarājendra.[2] The Maṇimangalam inscription informs us that Vīrarājendra drove into the jungle that big army which resisted (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśaiyavāḍai which had for its chiefs Jananāthaṇ, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Rājamāyaṇ whose elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparaśan.[3] According to D.C. Ganguly, Jananātha referred to in these inscriptions is evidently Jayasiṁha I, the Paramāra ruler.[4] As to Jayasiṁha I's younger brother, D.C. Ganguly refers to v. 7 of the Jainād inscription which tells us that Jagaddeva led successful expeditions against the Āndhra country,[5] and suggests that Jagaddeva undertook his expedition against the Āndhra country as a general of Jayasiṁha I. It is Jagaddeva who, in the opinion of this learned scholar, is referred to as the younger brother (or cousin) of Jananātha of Dhārā in the Choḷa inscriptions.[6]

We have not, however, found it possible to agree with D.C. Ganguly's view. To begin with, the scholars are at variance regarding the reading which has been interpreted by some as a 'younger brother of Jananātha of Dhārā'. K.A.N. Sastri interprets the expression as the 'younger brother of Dhārāvarsha'.[7] But, unfortunately, he gives no grounds for his interpretation. Shri K.B. Subramanya Ayyer prefers to read 'tār' instead of 'Dhārā' and translates the whole phrase as the 'younger brother of Jananātha adorned with wreaths'.[8] In the light of these variant readings it is not possible to identify Jananātha of the Choḷa inscriptions with Jayasiṁha I of Dhārā with any degree of certainty.

[1] *SII*, III, pt. I, p. 37.
[2] *EI*, XXI, p. 231.
[3] *SII*, III, pt. I, p. 69.
[4] *GHP*, p. 127.
[5] अन्ध्राधीशमृगीदृशः पतिपरित्यक्ताश्चिरं
यच्चमूवाहव्यूहखुराग्रखण्डित—
भुवि क्षीणाः स्खलन्त्योध्वनि । *EI*, XXII, p. 60.
[6] *GHP*, App. 2, p. ii.
[7] Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, p. 325.
[8] *EI*, XXI, p. 242, and fn. 2.

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Secondly, even if we take the reading to mean Jananātha of Dhārā, we need not agree with D.C. Ganguly's suggestion that the younger brother of Jananātha, killed by Choḷa Vīrarājendra was Jagaddeva, a cousin (or a younger brother) of Jayasiṁha I. We know nothing about the relationship between Jayasiṁha I and Udayāditya, the father of Jagaddeva. This being the case we cannot naturally, consider Jagaddeva as the younger brother (or cousin) of Jāyasiṁha I. Further, we know from the Koruvur inscription that Vīrarājendra cut off the head of the younger brother of Jananātha.[1] This younger brother who died on the battlefield, cannot be identified with Jagaddeva who was alive long after Jayasiṁha I had died.[2] In our opinion Jananātha, who was a Daṇḍanāyaka of the Western Chālukyas and who was defeated by Vīrarājendra Choḷa, must have been a chief of some petty small state of the South. And this conjecture gains support from the fact that Jananātha is spoken of together with the kings of Pottapi, Kerala and Pāṇḍya, all of whom were ruling in the South.

Jayasiṁha I perphaps was not destined to rule in peace. He had to pay heavily for his friendship with Vikramāditya VI Chālukya. In the seventies of the 11th century A.D. the Malwa kingdom was once again engulfed in serious disturbances, internal as well as external.

Jayasiṁha I had not been the only candidate for the Paramāra throne after the death of Bhoja. There were other members of the Paramāra family who thought they had an equal or even a better claim to it and did not quietly acquiesce in Jayasiṁha I's restoration by Someśvara I, Āhavamalla. As long as Someśvara I was alive, his opponents could not rear up their heads against Jayasiṁha. But after the death of Someśvara I in 1068 A.D.,[3] they rose in revolt against his protege.

Someśvara Āhavamalla's death also changed the political situation in the Deccan considerably. He left behind two sons, Someśvara II who succeeded him and Vikramāditya VI, the friend and patron of Jayasiṁha I of Malwa. The relations between the two brothers being far from satisfactory, it was but

[1] See above p. 100, fn. 1.

[2] *Vide infra* App. IV.

[3] He died on the 29th or 30th of March 1068 A.D. by entering in the waters of Tuṅgabhadrā. *EC*, VII, SK, 136, p. 181; *IA*, XLVII, p. 289.

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natural that Someśvara II should try to punish the partisans of Vikramāditya VI. It was at a time when Malwa was torn internally by a civil war that Someśvara II made an alliance with Karṇa and attacked Malwa. The disaster that befell the Malwa country at this time has been very graphically described in v. 32 of the Nagpur *praśasti*.[1] This inscription was edited by Prof. Kielhorn who read the verse as follows :

tasmin Vāsava-va(ba)andhutām=upagate rājye cha kulyākule magna-svāmini tasya va(ba)ndhur=Udayādityo'bhavad=bhūpatiḥ ।
yenoddhṛtya mahārṇṇav=opama-milat-Karṇṇāṭa-Karṇṇa-prabhu-murvvīpāla-kadarthitāṁ bhuvamimāṁ Śrīmad-Varāhāyitaṁ ॥[2]

Kielhorn translated this verse as, 'when he (*i.e.* Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa who, joined by Karṇāṭa, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar'.

But C.V. Vaidya suggested the reading of the third *pada* of the verse as *Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhṛtyurvvīpāla*, and explained it as 'when he (Bhoja) became a brother of Indra (*i.e.* died) and the kingdom was troubled and its lord was submerged, his relative Udayāditya became king who acted like Varāha (Boar incarnation) in lifting up this earth, troubled as it was by kings such as Karṇa and Karṇāṭa mingling like great oceans'.[3]

V.V. Mirashi, after referring to the original stone in the Nagpur Museum, agrees with C.V. Vaidya's reading of the particular *pada* for it 'suits the metre and yields a better meaning',[4] and construes the expression as follows :

mahārṇṇav=opamāḥ milantaḥ Karṇāṭa-Karṇa-prabhṛtayaḥ urvvīpālāḥ taiḥ kadarthitāṁ (*bhuvaṁ*) ।

According to Mirashi it would mean that Udayāditya rescued the earth which was oppressed by the Karṇāṭa, the king Karṇa and other rulers who had swept over it from different sides like

1 *EI*, II, p. 185.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *HMHI*, III, pp. 166-67, fn.
4 *PIHC* (Hyderabad), V, p. 257 ; *CII*, IV, Intro., p. xcviii and fn. 2 ; *MSI*, II, p. 75.

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the mighty oceans.[1] This reading of the third *pada* shows that Malwa at the time was invaded by a confederacy of more than two kings.

The Doṅgargāon inscription of the time of Udayāditya's son Jagaddeva dated 1112 A.D. (Śaka 1034) corroborates C.V. Vaidya's reading and V.V. Mirashi's translation of v. 32 of the Nagpur inscription. After describing Bhoja, the inscription says about Udayāditya that he rescued the Malwa country when it was sinking under the attacks of three enemies,[2] and thus makes it clear that Malwa at that time was invaded by a confederacy of three rulers.

Of these invaders of Malwa the most important ones were, no doubt, king Karṇa and the Karṇāṭa king who are specifically named in the Nagpur inscription. Kielhorn identified Karṇa with the homonymous Kalachuri king who was a contemporary of Udayāditya.[3] But D.C. Ganguly and some other scholars are of the view that he was the Chaulukya king Karṇa of Gujarat, the successor of Bhīma I.[4] This identification is open to objection because Udayāditya's fight against Karṇa of Gujarat took place in the reign of Vigraharāja III of Śākambharī,[5] *i.e.* after 1079 A.D., the date of Vigraharāja's accession.[6] Whereas Karṇa alluded to in the Nagpur *praśasti* would have been defeated by Udayāditya sometime after 1068 A.D., and a little before 1071 A.D.[7] Further, the latter part of the Udaipur *praśasti* credits Udayāditya with the total destruction (*saṁhāra*) of the

[1] *PIHC* (Hyderabad), V, p. 257; *CII*, IV, Intro., p. xcviii and fn. 2.

[2] ततो रिपुत्रयस्कन्दैर्मग्नां मालव–[मेदिनीम्] ।
उद्धरन्नुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्द्धत ॥५॥ *EI*, XXVI, p. 183.

[3] *EI*, II, p. 181.

[4] *GHP*, p. 130; *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 266-68; *NII*, p. 291; Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[5] vv. 77-78 of canto V of the *PV* describe Vigraharāja III as one who gave Udayāditya an excellent horse named Sāraṅga, riding on which he vanquished the Gūrjara king Karṇa.

[6] Vigraharāja III's predecessor Durlabharāja fell in battle with Ibrāhīm of Ghaznā in 1079 A.D. and so Vigraharāja III would have ascended the throne sometime after that date. Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

[7] As the Chālukya-Chedi invasion took place between 1068 A.D. and 1071 A.D. during which Jayasiṁha I died, Udayāditya would have come to the forefront during this very period to save his motherland. For details of dates see below p. 105.

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lord of Ḍāhala (*Ḍāhaladhīśa*).[1] *i.e.* Karṇa. This shows that the king Karṇa who brought about the destruction of king Jayasiṁha I of Malwa and was defeated back by Udayāditya, was the Kalachuri king Karṇa and not the Chaulukya king of that name. The Karṇāṭa king was evidently Someśvara II of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa. The 'other kings' mentioned in the Nagpur *praśasti* were most probably the Hoysaḷa chief Ereyaṅga and Gaṅga prince Udayāditya who, as we shall see below, fought under the leadership of Someśvara II.

With his friend, Vikramāditya VI, far away (perhaps on the confines of the Choḷa country), with many of the scions of the Paramāra family ranged against himself and with powerful hostile armies operating, Jayasiṁha I had little chance of averting defeat. What actually happened is known from epigraphs and literary works. The Sudi inscription, dated 1075 A.D., mentions king Someśwara II as 'the blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas'.[2] The Balagaumi inscription states that the Gaṅga prince Udayāditya, who is known to have been a feudatory of Someśvara II, 'completely defeating the Malwa king raised his enmity and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master, and seizing their property and women laden with jewels, he (Gaṅga Udayāditya) handed them over to his master (Someśvara II)'.[3]

The details of the Chālukya invasion are given very vividly in the Hoysaḷa records. It is stated that when the fortresses of the Malwa king were impregnable and baffling all the efforts of the Chālukyas, Ereyaṅga, the Hoysaḷa chief took great pains and leading a campaign conquered Malwa in the very presence of his lord, the Chālukyan king.[4] Another record states that by the orders of the Chālukya emperor, Ereyaṅga led an expedition to Malwa and married the damsel of victory through Dhārā with *agni* for witness,[5] implying perhaps thereby that he conquered Dhārā and burnt it. The other fortresses burnt by

[1] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, for 1925-26, p. 13.

[2] *EI*, XV, p. 96.

[3] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 164, no. 160.

[4] *EC*, V, AK, 117.

[5] *Ibid.*, AK, 102 A-V.

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Ereyaṅga are named in another record dated 1100 A.D.,[1] which says, 'the unobstructed fire of valour of Poysala (*i.e.* Hoysaḷa) ate Khāṇḍavā and covered it completely, burnt Māṇḍavā on the slopes of the Vindhya mountains and took Udhapuram'.[2] Of these, Māṇḍavā is clearly Mandu situated twenty two miles from Dhārā itself, on the summit of flat-topped hill in the Vindhyan range,[3] which was one of the important fortresses of the Paramāras. Udhapuram is no doubt Udaipur ; Khāṇḍavā would have been Khāṇḍavā of east Nimar.[4] Karṇa Chedi's part in the campaign is also obvious. In his earlier campaigns he had merely defeated the Paramāras, this time he took pride in having destroyed the Malwa royal family.[5]

Jayasiṁha I succumbed to this invasion, and for a time it seemed as if the career of the Paramāra kingdom had come to an end. The Nagpur *praśasti* compares this disaster to the catastrophe of world destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the eatrh.[6] As Someśvara II came to the throne in 1068-69 A.D.[7] and the invasion itself is referred to in the Balagaumi inscription of 1071 A.D.,[8] the defeat and death of Jayasiṁha I must be placed somewhere between these two dates. Udayāditya, the uplifter of the Paramāra kingdom, must have also come into prominence during this period of political trouble.

Udayāditya : c. 1070-86 A.D.

Bhoja's death in 1055 A.D.[9] had landed Malwa into chaos. For the next fifteen years or so, conditions in Malwa were perhaps far from normal, and at the time of Jayasiṁha I's death they were worse than they had been ever before. In those days of disaster the emergence of Udayāditya proved a boon to the

[1] *EC*, V, AK, 102a.

[2] I have followed here the translation given by Shri V. Venkataraya Sastri, *JOR* (Madras), XVI (1946-47), p. 143.

[3] *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 171.

[4] *Vide* Map no. 1.

[5] हणु उज्जरगुज्जरराअदलं दलदलिअवलिअमरहट्ठबलं ।
बलमोलि अमालवराअकुला कुल उज्जल करचुलिकएण फुला ।
Piṅgalārthapradīpa, quoted in *MSI*, II, p. 76.

[6] Nagpur *praśasti*, *EI*, II, p. 185, v. 32.

[7] See above p. 101 and fn. 3.

[8] *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 164 ff.

[9] *Vide ante* Chap. VI, pp. 92-93.

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Paramāra kingdom. The Udaipur *praśasti* describes the situation as follows :

'When that devotee of Śiva (*i.e.* Bhoja) whose brilliance resembled that of the sun, had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth like Dhārā was filled with dense darkness, his foes, and his hereditary warriors became enfeebled in body. Then arose king Udayāditya, like another sun, destroying the dense darkness, his powerful foes with the column of rays issuing from the strong sword, and thus gladdened the hearts of his people'.[1] The Nagpur *praśasti*, as we have already seen, states the same thing in slightly different words and is historically more valuable as it defines the chief sources of the trouble.

How Udayāditya succeeded in bringing about peace and order out of the chaos is a matter of mere conjecture and inference. He was probably backed by the *maulas* or the hereditary servants of the state who are referred to with respect more than once by the Udaipur *praśasti*. Disgusted by the anarchic conditions that had prevailed for sometime, they might have thrown their weight on the side of Udayāditya, a brother[2] of that great Bhoja in whose reign Malwa had reached the acme of her prosperity. Even more, he was probably helped by the conditions in the south. Vikramāditya VI had not been inactive since his departure from his brother's court. He allied himself with the Chola monarch Vīrarājendra[3] and probably made the matters so hot in the Deccan that his brother Someśvara II thought it best to confine his attention to the south. This must have offered Udayāditya an opportunity to regain his position and stabilize his authority in Malwa.

Some scholars, on the authority of the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*,[4] have concluded that Udayāditya gained his throne with the assistance rendered by Vigraharāja III Chauhān.[5] But we must

[1] तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदनं स्वर्ग्गिणां भग्नभक्तेः
व्याप्ता धारेव धात्री रिपुतिमिरभरैर्म्मौललोकस्तदाभूत् ।
विश्रस्तांगो निहत्योद्भटरिपुतिमिरभरं खड्गदंडांसुजालै-
रन्यो भास्वानिवोद्यन्द्युतिमुदितजनात्मोदयादित्यदेवः ॥२१॥ *EI*, I, p. 236.

[2] For Bhoja's relationship with Udayāditya see below, pp. 107-08.

[3] Sastri, K.A.N., *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

[4] Canto V, vv. 15-18.

[5] G.H. Ojha, D.C. Ganguly and K.M. Munshi hold this view.

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reject this conclusion for two reasons. Firstly, Vigraharāja III came to the throne of Śākambharī many years after the accession of Udayāditya. Udayāditya ascended the throne sometime before 1071 A.D.[1] and Vigraharāja III eight years later in 1079 A.D. (V.S. 1136) or so.[2] Secondly, the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* does not in the least give the impression that Udayāditya owed his throne to any assistance rendered by Vigraharāja III. Udayāditya appears to have been already in a well established position when Vigraharāja III presented to him a horse called Sāraṅga. Udayāditya was already the great ocean, Vigraharāja III was merely the *Mandākinīhṛda* that helped it in being full to the brim.[3]

A lot of controversy has centred round the problem of the relationship between Udayāditya Paramāra and Bhoja the Great. Some Paramāra inscriptions describe Udayāditya as a *pād-ānudhyāta* of Bhoja,[4] but they do not mention how he was related to him. A stone inscription of Udaipur from Gwalior belonging to the early 16th century A.D. states that Udayāditya was the son of Gyāta, grandson of Goṇḍala and great grandson of Suravīra of the Paramāra family.[5] Accepting this evidence as genuine, D.C. Ganguly thought that Udayāditya was a distant cousin of Bhoja and that he belonged to a minor branch of the Paramāra clan, which, in his opinion, was ruling in a feudatory capacity. D.C. Ganguly has used also a story in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* in support of his view.[6] On the other hand, the Nagpur

[1] See above p. 105.

[2] See above p. 103, fns. 5 and 6.

[3] मालवेनोदयादित्येनास्मादेवाप्यतोऽनतिः ।
मन्दाकिनीह्रदादेव लेभे पूरणमब्धिना ॥
सारङ्गाख्यं तुरङ्गं स ददौ यस्मै मनोजवम् ।
नह्युच्चैश्रवसं क्षीरसिन्धोरन्यः प्रयच्छति ॥
जिगाय गूर्जरं कर्णं तमश्वं प्राप्य मालवः ।
लब्ध्वानूरुरसूर्यरथं करोति व्योमलङ्घनम् ॥ *PV*, canto V, vv. 76-78.

[4] *Cf.* The Shergarh inscription of king Udayāditya, *EI*, XXIII, p. 135.

[5] *JASB*, IX (1840), p. 549.

[6] *GHP*, pp. 134-35.
The story runs as follows :
'Muñja gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhoja with much affection and appointed him his successor. When his son Jayachanda's reign was ended, none of the Poṇwār caste was found to succeed. Jitpāl of the

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inscription dated 1104 A.D. (V.S. 1161) has been known for a long time for referring to Udayāditya as a *bandhu* of Bhoja.[1] But as *bandhu* has in Sanskrit the sense of a distant relative as well as that of a brother, Udayāditya was supposed by scholars to have been remotely related to Bhoja.[2]

But such a conclusion goes against the testimony of far more reliable and earlier inscriptions of the Paramāras *viz* Jainād and Doṅgargāon inscriptions. The Jainād inscription of Udayāditya's son Jagaddeva mentions Bhoja as *pitrivya* (uncle) and Udayāditya as the father of Jagaddeva.[3] The Doṅgargāon inscription of the time of Jagaddeva, dated Śaka 1034=1112 A.D., describes Udayāditya as the *bhrātā* of Bhoja.[4] This proves that the term *bandhu* used in the Nagpur inscription should be taken in its normal sense as standing for real brother as suggested by V.V. Mirashi, who regards Udayāditya as the younger brother of Bhoja.[5]

Udayāditya did not occupy an easy throne. He was surrounded on all sides by enemies of whom some were his own people. Maṇḍalīka of Vāgaḍa had been a strong partisan of Jayasiṁha I.[6] Maṇḍalīka's son Chāmuṇḍarāja was therefore a natural enemy of Udayāditya, the erstwhile rival of Maṇḍalīka's overlord. He claims having defeated the lord of Malwa many times in the Sthalī land, *i.e.* Vāgaḍa,[7] which probably means that Udayāditya found it no easy task to reduce his refractory feudatory to submission.

Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, the friend and patron of Jayasiṁha I, who succeeded to the throne in about 1076 A.D. or so,[8] seems to have been the source of some trouble for Udayāditya. An inscription of 1077 A.D. describes

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Toṅwar caste, who was one of the principal land-owners, was elected to the throne, and thus, by the vicissitudes of fortune, the sovereignty passed into his family'. *AA*, II, p. 217.

[1] *EI*, II, p. 185, v. 32.

[2] Prof. Kielhorn was the first to express such a view.

[3] यस्योदयादित्यनृपः पिता सौ देवः पितृव्यः स च भोजराजः। *EI*, XXII, p. 60.

[4] *EI*, XXVI, p. 183, v. 5.

[5] *PIHC*, Vth Session (Hyderabad), 1941, pp. 256-60; *MSI*, II, pp. 77-78.

[6] See above p. 99.

[7] Arthuna ins., *EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310; *vide infra* Chap. XI.

[8] *YEHD*, p. 355.

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Vikramāditya VI as 'a source of great fever of terror to the king of Dhārā'.[1]

The greatest source of danger to the peace of Malwa, however, was the Chaulukya ruler Karṇa of Gujarat whose invasion of Malwa appears to have taken place sometime after 1079 A.D. or so.[2] Karṇa scored some success against the Paramāras in the initial stages. He is said to have carried away an image of Nīlakaṇṭha after defeating the ruler of Malwa.[3] Another Gujarat chronicler states that Karṇa overran the whole of the kingdom of Malwa.[4] The Chitorgarh fragmentary inscription (now Victoria Hall Udaipur inscription) of the time of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla records that Karṇa defeated the Mālava (king) in the Sudakūpa pass.[5] Udayāditya seems to have met this attack by bringing together all the enemies of Gujarat on this side of the Vindhyas. Vigraharāja III[6] of Śākambharī sided with Udayāditya.[7] Pṛthvīpāla of Nāḍol who claims having defeated the armies of Karṇa,[8] might have done so as an ally of Udayāditya who had won over also the Guhiles of Mewar by marrying his daughter Śyāmaladevī to the Mewar ruler, Vijayasiṁha.[9]

With their help Udayāditya succeeded in defeating the Chaulukya king Karṇa. Someśvara states that when the territory of the king of Dhārā was overrun by the Chaulukyas, the former's priest called up an evil spirit for the destruction of his master's enemy (Karṇa). But Ama, the priest of Karṇa (also an ancestor of the poet), succeeded in counteracting it by other potent incantations and turned back the evil spirit against the

[1] *EC*, VII, p. 171, SK, no. 124.

[2] See above p. 103, fns. 5 and 6.

[3] *SK*, II, v. 23.

[4] *Surāthotsava*, *Kavi-praśasti*, v. 20.

[5] Noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar, *PRAS*, *WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, no. 2220; NII, no. 1522.

[6] His queen Rājadevī or Rājamatī is said to have been the daughter of a Malava king, perhaps Udayāditya. *EI*, XXVI, p. 97 ; *Bīsalderāso*, p. 13 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 36, fn. 28.

[7] *PV*, V, vv. 76-78.

[8] पृथ्वीपाल इति ध्रुवं क्षितिपतिस्-तस्यांगजन्माभवत्
प्रत्यूहोरुनिधिः स गूर्जरपतेः कर्णस्य सैन्यापहः ॥ *EI*, IX, p. 76, v. 22.

[9] Bherāghāt ins., *EI*, II, p. 12.

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conjurer who was immediately killed as a result.[1] This statement shows the possibility of Karṇa having been in sore straits when he invaded Malwa. A much less ambiguous statement comes from the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* which states, 'ascendance (*unnati*) was attained by Udayāditya (king of) Malwa, just as fulness is gained by the sea from the lake (of origin) of the Mandākinī. To whom (Udayādityа), he (Chāhamāna Vigraharāja) gave a horse named Sāraṅga which had the speed of the mind', riding on which be vanquished the Gūrjara king.[2]

As a true successor to his illustrious predecessors, Muñja and Bhoja, Udayāditya fostered fully the cultural advancement of his kingdom. He was a great builder. He founded the city of Udaipur which he adorned with many beautiful temples. The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara or Udayeśvara temple is regarded as one of the superb specimens of Hindu architecture. The *Udayasamudra* tank or lake which he is said to have got excavated must have stood somewhere nearby.[3] Some of the temples at Un have also been assigned to the reign of Udayāditya.[4]

Udayāditya was a Śaivite by faith and is said to have granted various villages to Śaiva temples. He granted the village Vilapadraka to the temple of Somanātha, which is described as being situated in the fort of Kośavardhana *i.e.* modern Shergarh.[5] Earlier, a find of gold coins from Madhya Pradesh bearing the image of the seated goddess on one side and the name of the king on the obverse, were attributed to the Paramāra king Udayāditya.[6] But it has now been reported that these crude gold coins belong not to Udayāditya but to the Kalachuri Chedi chief Gāṅgeyadeva.[7]

Udayāditya's love of literature also found expression in many ways. In the *Pāthaśālā* of Bhoja is an inscription giving two verses in the *Nāgabandha* figure, composed perhaps by

[1] *Surāthotsava*, XV, v. 20.
[2] *PV*, V, vv. 76-78.
[3] *PRAS, WC*, 1914, p. 66.
[4] *ASI*, 1918-19, pp. 17-18 ; *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
[5] Shergarh ins., *EI*, XXIII, pp. 131-41 ; *Vide infra* Chaps. XIII and XVI.
[6] *JASB*, XVI (1920), p. 84, Plate XIII, no. 2.
[7] *JNSI* (*Golden Jubilee Volume*), 1960, p. 33.

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Udayāditya. Similar verses are found engraved also at Ujjain and Un.[1]

Of the chief inscriptions of his reign, two are at Udaipur,[2] one each at Un,[3] Dhārā,[4] Jhālrāpātan[5] and Shergarh,[6] ranging between the dates 1080 A.D. and 1086 A.D. It is obvious from these inscriptions that Udayāditya's dominions included Jhālrāpātan in the north, Bhilsa in the east, Shergarh in the west and the Nimar district in the south. He closed his reign in or a little after 1086 A.D. Among the Paramāra rulers Udayāditya occupies an honoured place.

Lakṣmadeva : c. 1086-94 A.D.

Udayāditya was succeeded on the throne of Malwa by his eldest son Lakṣmadeva. The Nagpur stone inscription,[7] which devotes full twenty verses (*i.e.* vv. 33-54) to the praise of Lakṣmadeva, is our main source of information regarding the career of this monarch. It says that Lakṣmadeva went out with a large army for *digvijaya* and subjugated the earth in all directions. It records the conquest of Bengal, defeat of the armies of Aṅga and Kāliṅga, occupation of Tripurī, subjugation of the Cholas and other southern tribes, invasion of the Pāṇḍya country and Ceylon, victory over the Timiṅgilas and other monsters, who resided on the Maināka mountain in the west and the defeat of the Turuṣkas and Kīras, as the achievements of Lakṣmadeva.

We cannot help regarding much of the above description as mere poetic panegyric, without any foundation in facts. Had there been an actual *digvijaya*, the *praśasti* would have named the rulers defeated by Lakṣamadeva. D.C. Ganguly is not justified in comparing the description of the Nagpur *praśasti* with that of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription.[8] It is true that the evidence of the Allahabad pillar inscription is like that of Nagpur stone inscription, in not being corroborated

[1] *JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 350-52.

[2] *EI*, I, pp. 222-38 : *IA*, XX, p. 83; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State, 1925-26, p. 13.

[3] *EI*, XXXI, p. 30 ; *ASI*, 1918-19, p. 17.

[4] *ABORI*, IV, pp. 99-102.

[5] *JPASB*, X (1914), pp. 241-43.

[6] *EI*, XXIII, pp. 131-41.

[7] *EI*, II, pp. 180-95.

[8] *GHP*, p. 151, fn. 5.

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by any other evidence ; but unlike the latter, the former is much more detailed and names most of the rulers defeated by the Gupta emperor.

It may be taken as almost certain that Lakṣmadeva never conquered the Pāṇḍya country and Ceylon. In his encounter with the Muslims too, he does not seem to have been successful, for the invaders, led by a Ghaznavide ruler Mahmūd,[1] occupied Ujjain and destroyed thousands of temples.[2] It is also hard to believe that Lakṣmadeva ever succeeded in defeating the powerful Choḷas. The Timiṅgilas of Maināka appear to be a fabulous tribe, for the inscription, we believe, refers merely to the big fish in the southern ocean,[3] *i.e.* to the monstrous creatures like whales that live in those parts.[4]

Lakṣmadeva's encounter with the Chedis of Tripurī, however, is likely enough,[5] even though his own sister Śyāmaladevī's daughter Allahaṇadevī was married to Gayakaraṇa,[6] the eldest

[1] A descendant of the famous Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

[2] The Muslim invasion of Malwa is thus described by the contemporary poet Salman:

'On this journey thy army destroyed a thousand idol temples and thy elephants trampled over more than a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march thy army to Ujjain ; Malwa trembled and fled from thee, thy encampments were gardens, thy roads were groves, on the way to Kalinjar'. *HIED*, IV, p. 524.

[3] The dictionary meaning of *Timiṅgila* is swallower of the *Timi*, a large fabulous fish.

[4] मैनाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचित्कालाग्निरास्ते क्वचि-
तवसन्ति क्वापि तिमिंगिल प्रभृतयः कुत्रापि शेते हरिः ।
एतद्वेत्ति न कोपि यत्र जलधौ [त] स्थाप्य [शेषं] पयः
[पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः कृतैकचुलुकैस्तैस्तैरगस्त्यायितं ॥५०॥
यैः संभूय तिमिंगिलप्रभृतिभिः सांसर्प्पिणस्त [न्व] ते
पोताधानसव [व] न्धुतां शिखरिणो मैनाकमुख्या अपि ।
भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्बराणि दधिरे तैरप्य शेषेम्बुधौ
यःसेनागजराज [पीव] रकरा - - - नोच्छङ्कलै ॥५१॥

Dr. D.C. Ganguly, however, interprets these verses in the following manner :

'Lakṣmadeva is credited with victory over the Timiṅgilas and other monsters who resided in the Maināka mountain on the west. The *Mahābhārata* locates this mountain on the western border of India in or near Gujarat. The Timiṅgilas were probably one of those hill tribes who were subjugated by Siddharāja'.

[5] v. 39 of the Nagpur ins., *EI*, II, p. 186.

[6] Bherāghāt ins., *EI*, II, p. 12 ; *CII*, IV, p. 316.

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son of the Chedi ruler Yaśaḥ Karṇa (1072-1115 A.D.). The Chedis were the hereditary enemies of the Paramāras of Malwa and weakened as they were by attacks from many sides,[1] they might have been defeated by Lakṣmadeva as well.[2] A raid on Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Gauḍa is also not beyond the range of possibility as the struggle of the Kaivartas and the Pālas had rendered Bengal vulnerable.[3]

But Lakṣmadeva most probably never reached the southern as well as the northern extremities of India or beyond, as the description of the defeat of the Turuṣkas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu (probably Oxus) would lead us to believe.[4] Lakṣmadeva may have been a good soldier but not the Indian Napoleon as he is represented to be in the Nagpur *praśasti*, the writer of which appears to have modelled his description on that of Raghu's digvijaya in the *Raghuvaṁśa*.[5]

Writing in the *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, D.C. Ganguly committed the mistake of identifying Lakṣmadeva with his younger brother Jagaddeva and attributed Jagaddeva's conflict with the Hoysaḷas to Lakṣmadeva.[6] But as we shall see later, Jagaddeva and Lakṣmadeva were two different princes[7] and consequently it has to be said that Lakṣmadeva never came into conflict with the Hoysaḷa chiefs.

Verses 55 and 56 of the Nagpur *praśasti* inform us that Lakṣmadeva had granted, at the time of a solar eclipse, it is not clear to whom, two villages in the Vyāpuramaṇḍala and that his brother king Naravarmandeva afterwards assigned the

[1] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. civ.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. ciii.

[3] *HB*, I, pp. 152 ff.

[4] Lakṣmadeva is said to have conquered Ceylon on one side and the Turuṣkas and the Keras on the other, the former on the banks of Vaṅkṣu and the latter on the Sarasvatī. See vv. 38, 44, 48 and 54 of the Nagpur *praśasti*.

[5] Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the Nagpur inscription are similar to the conclusion that we have reached. He wrote, 'according to the poet's account Lakṣmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions, but the only tangible and probably true facts are an expedition against Tripurī, the well-known capital of the Chedi kingdom and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or the Mohammaden invaders alluded to in v. 54', *EI*, II, p. 181.

[6] *GHP*, pp. 148-49.

[7] *Vide infra* App. IV.

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village of Mokhalapaṭaka instead.[1] As Naravarmandeva, the successor of Lakṣmadeva was a ruling king in 1094 A.D.,[2] Lakṣmadeva must have closed his reign sometime before 1094 A.D.

Naravarmandeva : 1094-1133 A.D.

Lakṣmadeva was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarmandeva, for whom we have a number of inscriptions.[3] But these epigraphs though numerous enough do not shed much light on the chief political events of Naravarman's reign. All that can be said on their basis is that at one time he ruled over

[1] *EI*, II, p. 186.

[2] The Amera ins., *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 135.

[3] (i) His earliest inscription belongs to the year V.S. 1151=1094 A.D. It mentions the construction of a tank in his reign. *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 135.

(ii) The Bhojapura inscription dated V.S. 1157=1100 A.D. refers to the *sāmrājya* (*i.e.* the sovereignty or dominions) of Naravarman. Next is mentioned the Vemak-*ānvaya* (*i.e.* the Vemaka family to which the person responsible for the epigraph belonged. The object of this inscription was the installation of two *Jina* (*i.e. Tīrthāṅkara*) images by a person named Chillaṇa who was the son of *śreṣṭhin* Rāma and the grandson of Nemichandra. *EI*, XXXV, pp. 185-88.

(iii) The Nagpur *praśasti* of V.S. 1161=1104 A.D. It is Naravarman's own composition. *EI*, II, pp. 180-95.

(iv) The Madhukargarh inscription, mentioned by Tod, records the construction of a Śiva temple by Haradeva, who took pride in having increased the glory of Naravarman. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I, p. 226.

(v) The Bījamandira inscription of Bhilsa gives *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa* as Naravarman's title. *PRAS, WC*, 1913-14, p. 59.

(vi) In the Bhojaśālā inscription at Dhārā, Naravarman is represented as a defender of faith. *JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 350-52 ; *EI*, XXXI, pp. 29-30.

(vii) The Kadambapadraka plates, with dates ranging from 1102 A.D. to 1110 A.D., show that Upendramaṇḍala was under the charge of Mahāmāṇḍalika Rājyadeva, an officer of Naravarman who in 1102 A.D. granted ten plough-measures of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Āśādhara. Naravarmandeva himself is said to have made a land-grant on Thursday, 3rd January, 1110 A.D. to Dviveda Āśādhara. *EI*, XX, pp. 106-08.

(viii) An undated inscription from Avanti which mentions the conquest of Sāketa by Naravarman. Published by S.N. Vyas.

(ix) An unpublished inscription dated 1142 A.D. from Jhālarāpāṭan gives an account of the ministers of Naravarmandeva and Yaśovarmandeva. *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 56.

(x) An undated stone inscription from Bhilsa. *PRAS, WC*, 1928-29, p. 54.

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an extensive territory, was a talented poet and devoted to his religion. From other sources we learn that as far as military success is concerned Naravarman's reign was a failure.

An inscription from Ajayagarh of the time of Vīravarman Chandella, states that the sword of Sallakṣaṇavarman Chandella (1110-15 A.D.), a contemporary of Naravarman, 'took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Chedis'.[1] From the Bāndā plates of Madanavarman Chandella, we find that he made a gift of land in 1134 A.D. (V.S. 1191), while he was encamped near Bhaillasvāmin.[2] As Bhaillasvāmin or Bhilsa was in the Paramāra dominions,[3] it would be reasonable to presume that the Chandellas had by 1134 A.D. penetrated as far as Bhilsa and were probably even thinking of going further.

The Ingnoḍa inscription dated 1133-34 A.D. of the time of *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* Vijayapāladeva, the successor of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* Tihunapāladeva, the successor of *Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvāra* Pṛthvīpāladeva, after worshipping Śiva granted the village of Agāsiyaka to the god Gohaḍeśvara, situated within the division or country to the south of Inganapaṭ.[4] As Ingnoḍa is only fifty miles to the north-west of Ujjain, this inscription reveals the presence of a kingdom (hardly fifty miles away from Ujjain), the princes of which, to judge from their titles, seem to have claimed independent position.[5] This shows that the Chandellas were not the only people to encroach on the borders of Malwa, but the family of Vijayapāla too were active on the northern side in building up an independent kingdom.

Ajayarāja, the Chāhamāna ruler of Sapādalakṣa too is mentioned as having defeated Naravarman on the borders of Avanti,[6] and to have captured alive latter's general

[1] *EI*, I, p. 327.

[2] *IA*, XVI, p. 208.

[3] Udaipur which was an important centre of the Paramāra government was situated in Bhaillasvāmin-Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala. *PRAS, WC*, 1913-14, p. 59.

[4] *IA*, VI, pp. 55-56.

[5] *DHNI*, II, p. 885 ; *IHQ*, XXXV, pp. 9-15.

[6] *Cf.* अवन्ति-पर्यन्ते-विजित-नरवर्म्म . . . . 1. 12 of a *praśasti* of the Sapādalakṣa line. Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 180, App. G. (ii).

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Sollaṇa.[1] According to v. 15 of the Bijholi inscription Ajayavarman killed the three warriors, Chachchiga, Sindhula and Yaśorāja[2] after storming, perhaps the fort of Śrīmārgga.[3] Combining together the evidence of the Bijholi inscription, the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* and the Chāhamāna inscription, we agree with the conclusion that Sollaṇa was a Daṇḍanāyaka of the king of Malwa and *durdda* is a mistake for *durgga i.e.* a fort. Śrīmārgga should, therefore, be regarded as some fort of Malwa, with which the three warriors Chachchiga, Sindhula and Yaśorāja were associated, most probably as its defenders.[4]

The Chāhamāna ruler Ajayadeva could not perhaps resist the temptation of striking a blow at the disintegrating kingdom of Malwa, though his grandfather Vigraharāja III had married a Paramāra princess *i.e.* the daughter of Udayāditya Paramāra.[5]

This Chāhamāna-Paramāra hostility continued in the time of his son and successor Arṇorāja who ascended the throne of Ajmer a little before 1134 A.D., the probable date of the death of his rival, Naravarman. Using the well-known rhetoric figure, *śleṣa* (double entendre), the Bijholi inscription refers to the defeat of Naravarman at the hands of Arṇorāja of Śākambharī.[6] It states 'we regard it as strange that he (Arṇorāja), though a pious man should show disrespect to the lord of gods (Nārāyaṇa) by humiliating Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa'.[7] This element of wonder and incongruity which the inscription mentions, is, however, easily removed if one knows that Arṇorāja actually humiliated not *Nārāyaṇa*, but *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa i.e.* Naravarman, who had assumed this title. The fragmentary Chauhān inscription begins its account of Arṇorāja by mentioning Naravarman.[8]

[1] *EI*, XXVI, p. 104, v. 15 ; *PV*, canto V, v 85. The latter, however, calls Sollaṇa as the king of Malwa. But the ruler of Malwa at this time was Naravarman.

[2] *EI*, XXVI, p. 104.

[3] For a detailed discussion on the meaning of the phrase '*Śrīmārgga-durddā-nvitam*' of the second line of v. 15 of the Bijholi inscription, see Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] See above p. 109, fn.6.

[6] *EI*, XXVI, p. 104, v. 17.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 180, App. G. (ii), l. 14.

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But the rest of the verse after the words *jayaśriyaṁ*-Naravarmma is unfortunately gone. After four lines, however, we find Arṇorāja's soldiers being described as taking away by force on the battlefield, the elephants of the *Mālaveśā*.[1] This *Mālaveśa* obviously is the ruler Naravarman of the earlier part of the *praśasti*.

A.K. Majumdar thinks that Arṇorāja, who according to the *Kīrtikaumudī*[2] and the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*[3] had married Kāñchanādevī, the daughter of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, invaded Malwa in order to help the latter.[4] But we cannot be very sure on this point. Every one tried to fish in troubled waters ; and if Arṇorāja thought that an attack on Malwa would be advantageous to him, this was excuse enough for aggression. The Bijholi inscription suggests no co-operation between Arṇorāja and Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. The Sāmbhar stone inscription, on the other hand, suggests that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and Arṇorāja were not on friendly terms as the former had attacked Arṇorāja and perhaps occupied his territory for sometime.[5] And the marriage of Siddharāja's daughter with Arṇorāja, referred to by the chronicles, is also not corroborated by any epigraphic evidence.

Nor were these the only enemies of Naravarman. He had soon to fight against a more skilful, stronger and determined enemy, the Chaulukya ruler Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Gujarat.

The Paramāras and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat could have been good friends on account of their cultural affinities. But they never were because their imperialistic ambitions clashed for the supremacy of western India. Mūlarāja's son Chāmuṇḍarāja had put to flight Sindhurāja,[6] and in the reign of Bhoja, success sometimes inclined this way and sometimes the other. But in the end the Chaulukyas won the round and Malwa was for a while left at the mercy of the Chaulukyan

[1] यत्सैनिकैः समरमूर्धनि मालवेशा-
दाच्छिद्य सान्द्रमदमोदितभृङ्गमाला
आलानिताः करटिनो . . . . Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 181.
[2] *KK*, II, 27-28.
[3] *PV*, canto VI, v. 34.
[4] Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 71-74.
[5] *IA*, LVIII, pp. 234-36.
[6] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

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soldiers. We have seen above how after years of warfare Udayāditya was able to make Malwa independent once again. Both he and perhaps his son Lakṣmadeva defeated Karṇa Chaulukya. But with the coming of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja to the Chaulukya throne in 1094 A.D.,[1] the Chaulukyas once again assumed the offensive with vigour.

The Gujarat chronicles are most eloquent about Jayasiṁha Siddharaja's success against the Paramāras, so much so that they have not taken the trouble to record correct names. The struggle which started in the reign of Naravarman, continued for twelve years up to the time of Yaśovarman. Since we do not have full facts about this protracted struggle, it is difficult to give a complete account of the events which took place. But the fact remains that the Paramāra ruler Naravarman had to suffer a serious set-back at the hands of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. According to Jayasiṁha Sūri, Siddharāja made a vow that when he killed Naravarman he would use his skin to make a scabbard for his sword. This vow was fulfilled after a campaign lasting over twelve years and Siddharāja succeeded in entering Dhārā after his elephants had broken the gate.[2] Jinamaṇḍaṇa repeats this story and adds that Siddharāja was prevented by his ministers from fulfilling this vow, for when Naravarman was captured alive, the ministers persuaded Jayasiṁha Siddharāja to agree with their view that a king's person was inviolable.[3] Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's court-poet Hemachandra devotes an entire canto to this episode.[4]

The account of the chronicles is, in the main, corroborated by epigraphic evidence. An inscription in the Gaṇapati temple of Talwāḍā, a village in the Bānswārā state, gives the geneaology of the Chaulukyas from Bhīma I to Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and states that Jayasiṁha humbled the pride of Naravarman.[5] In this war Jayasiṁha Siddharāja seems to have enlisted the support of all his relatives, friends and feudatories. The Nanana Grant of Ālhaṇa Chauhān, states that Āśārāja Chauhān went for fighting to Dhārā. Frightened by his presence, Naravarman betook himself to his

1 *DHNI*, II, p. 965.
2 *Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-prabandha*, I, v. 41.
3 *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, p. 7.
4 *DV*, XV.
5 *ARRM*, 1914-15, p. 2, ins. no. 4.

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fort.[1] According to the Sūndhā Hill inscription, 'the assistance rendered by the sword of Āśārāja was so highly prized by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja that he granted him the high honour of using a golden *kalaśa* on his tent'.[2] Feudatories from Kathiawar, Kirāḍū and other places, might have had their share in the siege which dragged on to the end of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's reign.

Though Naravarman was defeated and some part of Malwa kingdom was perhaps occupied by the Chaulukyas, the final defeat of the Paramāras was, however, not effected during his reign, it came later in the time of his son Yaśovarman.

The details of Naravarman's attack on Sāketa, as mentioned in the Avanti inscription,[3] can hardly be regarded as sufficient. This fragmentary and undated inscription mentions a king named Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa who, according to it, made his complete conquest as far as Sāketa in the east, Dvārikā in the west, Malayāchala in the south and the Himālayas in the north. The inscription being in a very fragmentary condition nothing more can be made out. This description seems to be merely conventional. Naravarman *alias* Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa was not in a position to defend successfully his home territory from the attacks of the Chandellas, the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas, how could he then go for a *digvijaya* as mentioned by this *praśasti*!

On the basis of the *Vikrama-Choḷānula* in which Vikrama Choḷa the hero of the poem, is said to have defeated the Cheras, the Pāṇḍyas and the kings of Malwa, Siṁhala and Koṅkaṇa,[4] D.C. Ganguly thinks that Naravarman came into conflict with the Choḷas and suffered a reverse.[5] But the *Vikrama-Choḷānula* is unsupported by any other evidence, either epigraphic or literary.

Naravarman, like his predecessors, was a great scholar and patron of learning. He was a talented poet and devoted to his

[1] य [श्छ] त्रो—
त्तानमेघडँवर [निभ] श्चँडप्रतापान्वितः संप्राप प्रभुसिद्धराजवचसा युद्धाय
धारानले (तले)। इ [ष्ट्वा] मुंजगती–
. . . नङ्नाथाकृतिं तद्भीत्या नरवर्म्मभूपतिरभूत्प्राकारदुर्गाश्रयः॥
Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, App. V (iv), p. 186, ll. 12-14.

[2] *EI*, IX, p. 77, vv. 26-27.

[3] Ed. by Pt. Suryanarayana Vyas.

[4] *IA*, XXII, p. 183.

[5] *GHP*, p. 161.

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religion. He is credited with the composition of the Nagpur *praśasti*[1] and Dhārā inscription,[2] and is said to have the composition of many other hymns and verses to his credit. He was a great builder of temples and tanks[3] and a patron of letters. Nor was his patronage confined to any one sect, for we find from the *Kharatara-gachchha-bṛhad-gurvāvalī* of Jinapāla, a work composed in 1238 A.D., that he honoured the Jaina teacher Jinavallabhasūri for his skill in poetry.[4]

From Ratnasūri's *Amamasvāmicharita*, we find that Naravarman was on the throne of Malwa upto V.S. 1190=1133 A.D.[5] In 1134 A.D. (V.S. 1191) Naravarman's son and successor Yaśovarman ruled instead.[6] From a copper-plate grant of Yaśovarman,[7] we find that the annual funeral ceremony of Narvarmandeva fell on eighth lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika of Vikrama year 1191=1134 A.D. Naravarmandeva must have therefore died in the Vikrama year 1190=1133 A.D.

Yaśovarman : 1133 A.D.-c. 1142 A.D.

Of all the Paramāra reigns, that of Yaśovarman seems to have been the most tragic. Many of his predecessors suffered disappointments and failures but none had to suffer such bitter humiliation as Yaśovarman was fated to. Misfortunes which

[1] *EI*, II, pp. 180-95.

[2] The composition of this inscription is sometimes ascribed to Udayāditya (*JBBRAS*, XXI, pp. 351-52). But Mr. K.A.N. Sastri who has recently edited this inscription (*EI*, XXXI, pp. 25-28) however, thinks that it was Naravarman who incited the Dhārā *praśasti* to commemorate either the erection or the restoration of a temple of Śiva and associated his father's name with his own as an expression of honour and filial love. As an other act of his deep devotion and reverence, continues Mr. Sastri, to Udayāditya, Naravarman appears to have dedicated to him the chart described as the badge of Udayāditya to be worn by kings and the poets alike. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[3] For the description of temples and tanks built by Naravarman, see Chap. XVI.

[4] Naravarman is said to have set a *samasyā* which was completed fully by Jinavallabhasūri alone. Though offered large sums of money, he refused to accept it on the ground that it was against the teachings of Jainism. *Vide infra* Chaps. XIV and XVI.

[5] *Dhār State Gazetteer*, p. 159.

[6] *IA*, XIX, pp. 351-53.

[7] *Ibid.*

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had begun in Naravarman's reign came to a head during the short regime of Yaśovarman.

According to Hemachandra, the reason of Siddharāja's attack on Yaśovarman was the absence of free access to the temples of Kālikā and other Yoginīs at Ujjain.[1] Merutuṅga's account is a little more detailed. According to him Yaśovarman of Malwa invaded Gujarat[2] while its ruler Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was away on pilgrimage, along with his mother Mayaṇallādevī. Sāntū, the Chaulukya Prime Minister, finding it difficult to resist the Paramāra forces, sued for peace and Yaśovarman agreed to return to Malwa, on the condition that he was given the merit of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's pilgrimage. Sāntū gave his word for it and Yaśovarman returned to Malwa. But Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was so angry when he came back that he at once invaded Malwa and continued the war for twelve years. He states further that after the seige of Dhārā had progressed for sometime, it seemed that Dhārā would, after all, remain unconquered. But Muñjāla, a minister of Gujarat, found out that the southern gate of the fort was its weakest point. Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's elephants battered it down and after twelve years of continuous fighting Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's flag flew on the fort of Dhārā. Yaśovarman was taken prisoner and carried away to Aṇahilapattana. That he escaped paying the extreme penalty was, according to Merutuṅga, due to the sage advice of Muñjāla.[3]

Someśvara describes this event in his *Kīrtikaumudī* by saying that 'he (*i.e.* Siddharāja) another Māra (*aparamāra*) as he was, beat down in battle the Paramāras (and became) as it were, the betrothal of the royal fortune of the lord of Malwa. He threw the lord of Dhārā into a wooden cage like a royal parrot and at the same time made the royal swan of his fame enter the cage of universe. He took but a single Dhārā, the city of Naravarman but

[1] A female ascetic is said to have told Jayasiṁha Siddharāja that if he wanted to have the merit of worshipping *Kālikā* and the Yoginīs at Ujjain, he must cultivate Yaśovarman's friendship. Angered by this Jayasiṁha Siddharāja decided to attack Malwa and to imprison its ruler Yaśovarman. Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was to go to Malwa not on sufferance but as its master. *DV*, XIV, vv. 5-74.

[2] Merutuṅga has perhaps committed the mistake in names. The war started in the time of Naravarman though it continued up to the time of Yaśovarman.

[3] *Pc*, pp. 58-59.

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he gave thousands of *dhārās* (streams) of tears thereby to his wives'.[1]

The narration of the *Rās Mālā* is almost the same. It says that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja attacked Ujjain with the help of some Bheel chieftains, and made war with Malwa for twelve years. But after many ineffectual attempts to obtain possession of the capital city, Dhārā Nagara, he began to be disheartened and consulted Muñjāl-*muntree* who accompanied him. That minister however had obtained from a deserter, intelligence which led to the hope that an attack on the southern gateway of the fort might be made with success. Siddharāja headed the assault in person. The favourite elephant, upon which he rode, broke down two of the three gates, though the immense exertion cost the valiant animal its life. The king of Gujarat, having thus effected an entrance, soon became master of the fort and his triumph being completed by the capture of Yaśovarman who had behaved gallantly in the defence, his (*i.e.* Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's) standard was raised in the city of Bhoja.[2]

Arisiṁha also tells us that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja imprisoned Yaśovarman the king of Dhārā.[3] The *Surāthotsava*[4] and the *Kīrtikaumudī*[5] of Someśvara relate that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja defeated the Paramāras, conquered Dhārā, the city of Naravarman and threw its lord into a wooden cage.[6] The Dohāḍ inscription of 1139 A.D. says that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja put the rulers of Malwa and Saurāṣṭra into prison.[7]

Exactly when this attack on Malwa took place is not known, but the date of the last phase of the struggle, *i.e.* the capture of Dhārā and the captivation of Yaśovarman may be ascertained

[1] *KK*, II, vv. 30-32.
[2] *Rās Mālā*, pp. 111-12.
[3] *SK*, XI, v. 34.
[4] *Grantha-praśasti*, vv. 31-33.
[5] *Sarga*, II, vv. 31-34.
[6] Accounts here differ a lot. According to Hemachandra, Arisiṁha, Merutuṅga and the author of the *Rās Mālā* it was Yaśovarman who was taken prisoner. Someśvara, Jinamaṇḍanagaṇi and Jayasiṁha Sūri ascribe this fate to Naravarman (see above). Hemachandra as a contemporary authority must be regarded as more reliable than Someśvara etc. whose mistake seems to be due to the fact that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja's attack on Malwa had first begun during Naravarman's reign.
[7] *IA*, X, p. 159, v. 1.

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with a small margin of probable error. The last known inscription of Yaśovarman is dated 1135 A.D. (V.S. 1192),[1] and in the Gala inscription of 1136 A.D. (V.S. 1193) Jayasiṁha Siddharāja assumes the epithet *Avantināth*a.[2] Hence Siddharāja must have captured Dhārā between 1135 and 1136 A.D. We are told by his Ujjain inscription dated V.S. 1195=1138 A.D. that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was holding Avantimaṇḍala after vanquishing Yaśovarman, the king of Malwa. The next two lines tell us that Malwa was held for Jayasiṁha Siddharāja by the Chaulukya governor Mahādeva.[3]

In one of his inscriptions dated 1134 A.D. (V.S.1191), Yaśovarman is called a *Mahārājādhirāja*,[4] whereas in the inscription issued an year later, he assumes the title of *Mahārāja* only.[5] It may be, as suggested by A.K. Majumdar, that the latter inscription was issued by Yaśovarman when he had lost his position as a paramount sovereign probably as a result of the attack of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. We use the terminology, 'may have lost his position as a paramount sovereign', because the variation of titles is not a very safe basis to reach at new conclusions. Samudragupta of the imperial Gupta family has been mentioned as a *Mahārājādhirāja* as well as a Rājā.[6] The imperial Pratīhāras were mentioned as *Mahārājas* in one set of their inscriptions and as *Mahārājādhirāja-paramabhaṭṭāraka-parameśvaras* in another.[7]

This great victory put the greater part of the Paramāra dominions under the Chaulukyas. Dhārā and Ujjain acknowledged the sway of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja who, for nearly seven years (*i.e.* 1136-43 A.D.) was the *Sārva-bhauma* ruler of western India. Yaśovarman was perhaps able to escape from Jayasiṁha

1 *IA*, XIX, pp. 348-49.
2 *JBBRAS* (1920), p. 324, l. 2.
3 Ujjain ins., *IA*, XLII, p. 258 ; *Śodhapatrikā*, I, pt. II, pp. 67 ff.
4 *IA*, XIX, p. 351.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49.
6 The Prayāga *praśasti* of Samudragupta, *CII*, III, no. 1.
7 Bhoja Pratīhāra is given the title of *Mahārāja* in his Barāh ins. (*EI*, XIX, p. 18) and Daulatpur ins. (*EI*, V, p. 211) ; he is called *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* in the Deogarh ins. (*EI*, IV, p. 130). Mahendrapāla Pratīhāra is known as *Mahārāja* in the Dighwā-Dabhauli ins. (*JBBRAS*, XXI pp. 405-12) and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* in Una ins. (*EI*, IX, pp. 1-10) and Siyadoni ins. (*EI*, I, pp. 162-79).

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Siddharāja's prison after sometime and was perhaps given a small appanage which he may have ruled as a Chaulukya feudatory up to 1142 A.D. (V.S. 1199), if the date of the Jhālrāpāṭan inscription has been rightly guessed and *Mahārāja* Yaśovarman is the same person as Yaśovarman Paramāra.[1]

Jayavarman I: c. 1142-43 A.D.

The politics of Malwa, immediately after its conquest by Siddharāja Jayasiṁha, presents an extremely confused picture. Yaśovarman's son and successor Jayavarman I declared himself a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*.[2] His undated inscription from Vardhamānapura records the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa.[3] What were his relations with the Chaulukyas is uncertrin, but the Chaulukyas did control, for sometime, the greater part of Malwa and had their officers at Ujjain as well as at Dohāḍ.[4] The other powers too were not slow to take advantage of the prevailing confusion. The Chandellas probably continued their aggression. The greatest blow, however, came from the south. The Karṇāṭas, *i.e.* the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa raided Malwa once again, and in their wake followed the armies of the Hoysaḷas. Inscriptions of the years 1153, 1157 and 1165 A.D., from the territory of Mysore describe the destruction of the Malwa ruler and the spoliation of his kingdom by the Chālukya ruler Jagadekamalla (1139-49 A.D.).[5] The Hoysaḷa chief Viṣṇuvardhana (1128-42 A.D.) boasts similarly, 'to have broken the bones of the Mālava'[6] and is credited with the 'swallowing of Dhārā'.[7] His son and successor Narasiṁha I (1142-73 A.D.) is also credited with 'a longing to devour the king of Malwa'.[8] Jayavarman I perhaps could not

1 The Jhālarāpāṭan ins. dated V.S. 119(9) (?) contains the names of the Paramāra kings Naravarmandeva and Yaśovarmandeva. An account of their ministers is separately given. The figure 9 at the end is admittedly doubtful. *PRAS, WC*, 1905-07, p. 56.

2 *IA*, XIX, pp. 349-51. Whatever the attitude of Yaśovarman may have been, his son and successor Jayavarman I seems to have started the struggle against the Chaulukyas once again and therefore perhaps declared himself as a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 350-51.

4 *IA*, X, pp. 158-62 ; *IA*, XLII, p. 258.

5 *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 58, 61, 158.

6 Perett, J.D.M., *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 69.

7 *EC*, V, Hassan Taluq, no. 52, pp. 14-15.

8 *EC*, IV, Intro., p. 21, Kp. 32.

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stand against the combined forces of the Chālukyas and the Hoysaḷas, and he seems to have died fighting against the enemies. This event must have taken place before 1143 A.D., the earliest known date of *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman.[1] This was a terrible shock to the Paramāra government of Malwa which, for a while, left the Paramāras of Dhārā without any political power.

Ballāḷa

After Jayavarman I one Ballāḷa ruled in Malwa.[2] C.V. Vaidya identified Ballāḷa with Jayavarman I but as has been shown by D.C. Ganguly, this identification cannot be accepted in the light of grave chronological difficulties.[3] A.K. Majumdar thinks that Ballāḷa was perhaps a local chief or a former feudatory of the Paramāras, who during the period of confusion declared himself as the ruler of Dhārā.[4] But as the name Ballāḷa was quite common among the Hoysaḷas, this Ballāḷa might have been a Hoysaḷa chief who, after the death of Jayavarman I, was left by the Hoysaḷa invaders as the master of Malwa.

The growing influence of the Chaulukyas in Malwa had aroused the hostility of the neighbouring prince Arṇorāja of Śākambharī. Both he and Ballāḷa joined hands, hoping to defeat Kumārapāla, the successor of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja,[5] before Kumārapāla consolidated his position. Kumārapāla, when he heard of this alliance, marched on Ajmer the capital of Arṇorāja, leaving the subjugation of Ballāḷa to his Brāhmaṇa general Kaka, and his feudatories Ālhaṇa Chauhān and Yaśodhavala Paramāra, the Abu chief, both of whom claim to have slain Ballāḷa. The Mt. Abu inscription says that Yaśodhavala quickly killed Ballāḷa, the king of Malwa, when he had learnt that he had become hostile to the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla.[6] Similarly, the Nanāna Grant of Ālhaṇa of 1162 A.D. says that

[1] *IA*, XIX, pp. 40, 351-53 ; *Vide infra* Chap. VIII.

[2] Ballāḷa is mentioned as the king of Malwa by Abhayatilakagaṇi (*DV*, XIX, v. 13). He is called the king of Dhārā in v. 10 of the Veraval ins. (*WZKM*, III, pp. 1-19). He is called the king of Malwa by the Mt. Abu inscription (*EI*, VIII, p. 201).

[3] *GHP*, pp. 172-73, fn. 5.

[4] Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 454-55.

[5] *DV*, XIX, v. 13.

[6] *EI*, VIII, p. 211 ; *vide infra* Chap. XI.

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Ālhaṇa 'saved the big army of Gujarat king by slaying the ruler of Dhārā'.[1] Hemachandra, however, gives the credit of killing Ballāḷa to some Brāhmaṇa soldiers of Kumārapāla's army.[2]

As the defeat of Ballāḷa is first referred to in the Vāḍnagar *praśasti* dated V.S. 1208=1151 A.D. which says that Arṇorāja was killed and the head of the lord of Malwa was suspended from the gates of Kumārapāla's palace[3]; and the defeat of Arṇorāja alone is referred to in the Chitor inscription of 1150 A.D. (V.S. 1207),[4] it seems that Ballāḷa was defeated and slain somewhere between these two dates. Its news reached Kumārapāla after his victory over Arṇorāja, just on the eve of his marriage with the Chauhān princess Jalhaṇā.[5]

Thus as luck would have it, Malwa once again became a Chaulukya province. Kumārapāla provided carefully for its administration. In 1163 A.D. the eastern portion of the erstwhile Paramāra dominions was under *Mahāsādhanika* Rājyapāla.[6] In 1172 A.D. one Luṇapasaka was in charge of the same territory and granted a village for god Umānātha at Udayapura which he describes as situated in the Bhaillasvāmin-Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*.[7]

[1] येनैतान् गिरिगह्वरान्त—
. . भीरधाराधिपान्
रक्षितमे [व] गूर्ज्जरपतेर्य्यं रतं
[म] ह्यत्तं दलं । Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 186.
[2] *DV*, XIX, v. 126.
[3] *EI*, I, p. 29, v. 15.
[4] *EI*, II, p. 423.
[5] *DV*, XIX, vv. 21-24.
[6] *IA*, XVIII, p. 343.
[7] *Ibid.*

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CHAPTER VIII

THE PARAMĀRA MAHĀKUMĀRAS

AFTER THE death of Jayavarman I and Ballāḷa, a large part of the Paramāra kingdom had passed into the hands of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat whose ruler Kumārapāla took the title *Avantinātha*, and provided for the administration of Malwa by appointing various officers.[1] But even during this period a junior branch of the Paramāra family, the ruling members of which styled themselves as '*samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabd-ālaṁkāra-virāja-māna-mahākumāra*', maintained an independent existence in modern Bhilsa, Bhopal and Hoshangabad districts which formed the south-east portion of the once extensive Paramāra dominions.

The history of this line is complicated due to the differing genealogies given by the inscriptions of these *Mahākumāras*, which may be presented as below :

(i) The undated copper-plate grant of *Mahārājādhirāja* Jayavarmandeva.[2]

P-M-P Udayāditya
|
P-M-P Naravarman
|
P-M-P Yaśovarman
|
P-M-P Jayavarman

(ii) The copper-plate grant of *Mk* Lakṣmīvarmandeva, dated V.S. 1200=1143 A.D.[3]

P-M-P Udayāditya
|
P-M-P Naravarman
|
P-M-P Yaśovarman
|
Mk Lakṣmīvarman

The name of Jayavarman is omitted in this inscription.

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
[2] *IA*, XIX, pp. 349-51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

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(iii) The Bhopal plates of *Mk* Hariśchandra, dated 1157 A.D.[1]

P-M-P Naravarman
|
P-M-P Yaśovarman
|
Mk Trailokyavarmandeva
⋮
Mk Hariśchandradeva

Here the names of both Lakṣmīvarman and Jayavarman are omitted and Hariśchandra is said to have acquired his victorious sovereignty through the favour of *Mk* Trailokyavarmandeva who is a *pādānudhyāta* of Yaśovarman.

(iv) The Piplianagar grant of *Mk* Hariśchandradeva, dated 1178 A.D.[2]

P-M-P Udayāditya
|
P-M-P Naravarman
|
P-M-P Yaśovarman
|
P-M-P Jayavarman
⋮
Mk Hariśchandra

The name of Trailokyavarman is omitted here and Hariśchandra is mentioned as having obtained his sovereignty through the favour of *P-M-P* Jayavarman. Lakṣmīvarman does not appear in the genealogical portion, he is referred to merely in the concluding line of the inscription as the father of Hariśchandra.

(v) The Bhopal plates of *Mk* Udayavarman, dated 1199 A.D.[3]

P-M-P Yaśovarman
|
P-M-P Jayavarman
⋮
Mk Lakṣmīvarman
⋮
Mk Udayavarman

1 *EI*, XXIV, pp. 225-34.
2 *JASB*, VII (1838), pp. 736-49.
3 *IA*, XVI, pp. 252-56.

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Hariśchandra is mentioned here not as the successor of Lakṣmīvarman, but merely as the father of Udayavarman.

Then we have the following inscriptions of the Paramāra main line which give an entirely different genealogy after Yaśovarman.

(vi) Piplianagar grant of king Arjunavarman, dated 1210 A.D.[1]:

Bhojadeva
⋮
Udayāditya
|
Naravarman
|
Yaśovarman
|
Ajayavarman
|
Vindhyavarman
|
Subhaṭavarman
|
Arjunavarman

Here the name of Yaśovarman's successor is given as Ajayavarman and not as Jayavarman.

(vii) Two other inscriptions of Arjunavarman, dated 1210, 1213 and 1215 A.D.[2] repeat the genealogy as given in no. vi.

(viii) The Māndhātā plates of Devapāla, dated 1225 A.D., give the same genealogy as given in nos. vi and vii with the additonal information that Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapāla.[3]

(ix) The Māndhātā plates of Jayavarman II, dated 1260 A.D. carry further the genealogy of no. viii by stating that Devapāla was succeeded by Jaitugideva and he by Jayavarman II,[4] who is mentioned also as Jayasiṁha Jayavarman in an inscription, dated 1274 A.D.[5]

[1] *JASB*, V (1836), pp. 377-82.
[2] *JAOS*, VII, pp. 24-47.
[3] *EI*, IX, pp. 103-20.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-23.
[5] *EI*, XXXII, pp. 139-56.

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The differences among these genealogies may briefly be stated as that (a) the *Mahākumāra* grants nos. i, iv and v state that Yaśovarman was succeeded by Jayavarman, while on the other hand nos. vi, vii, viii and ix (which are the grants of the main line) give the name of Yaśovarman's successor as Ajayavarman. (b) Nos. ii and iii (both of them again *Mahākumāra* grants) put Lakṣmīvarman and Trailokyavarman respectively as the successors of Yaśovarman.

On the basis of these inscriptions we may reconstruct the histoy of the Paramāras, subsequent to Yaśovarman's death as follows :

Yaśovarman probably had four sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman and Trailokyavarman. Jayavarman being perhaps the eldest, succeeded his father and fell fighting against the Hoysaḷa chief Jagadekamalla sometime before 1143 A.D.[1] Ajayavarman, the second son claimed the throne of Dhārā but does not appear to have ruled actually, as the major portion of Malwa was first under the occupation of Ballāḷa and then under the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. The name of Jayavarman is omitted from grants nos. vi, vii, viii and ix, not because he was dethroned by Ajayavarman, as supposed by Kielhorn,[2] but because the former was a collateral.

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

[2] Dr. Kielhorn is of the opinion that *P-M-P* Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakṣmīvarman, and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his accession (and certainly sometime between 1135 A.D. and 1143 A.D.), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Malwa, and continued to style themselves as the *Mahārājas*. The third brother, Lakṣmīvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman, and he succeeded, by the force of his own arm, in appropriating a portion of Malwa, which he, his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakṣmīvarman and after him, his son Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Malwa. It is for this reason, says Kielhorn, that Hariśchandra professes to rule by the favour of that prince and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of a *Mahākumāra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by even Lakṣmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman (*IA*, XIX, p. 348).

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Lakṣmīvarman, the third son carved out a small principality for himself in the eastern part of the Paramāra kingdom, south of the Vindhyas, during the period of chaos which followed after the death of Jayavarman I.

The Bhopal plates of Udayavarman, dated 1199 A.D., state that Lakṣmīvarman obtained his kingship 'through the favour of his own sword which he held in his own hand when the reign of Jayavarman had came to an end'.[1] Only one inscription of Lakṣmīvarman's reign has been discovered so far. It is dated in 1144 A.D. and states that on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon Lakṣmīvarman reafirmed the grant made by Yaśovarman in 1134 A.D. and granted certain villages in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*, adjacent to Bhaillasvāmin.[2] Obviously this territory which has been lost by the Paramāras during the reign of Yaśovarman and had passed into the hands of the Chandellas by 1134 A.D.,[3] was reconquered by Lakṣmīvarman and this necessitated the reissuing of the grant which had originally been made by his father Yaśovarman in 1134 A.D. That Lakṣmīvarman too could not keep this *maṇḍala* in his possession for long, is certain because as we have seen above, in 1163 A.D. and 1172 A.D. the Chaulukyas were firmly established in Bhaillasvāmin-Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*.[4] Jayavarman I is not

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D.C. Ganguly, on the other hand, thinks that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman were one and the same person, and so, according to him, *P-M-P* Yaśovarman had only two sons *i.e.* Jayavarman or Ajayavarman and Lakṣmīvarman. Another of his hypothesis is that there were two houses of the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* ruling in separate territories. One was descended from Hariśchandra, who was granted some territory by Jayavarman and the other was descended from Lakṣmīvarman, who after the death of Jayavarman (same as Ajayavarman), secured by the force of his arms, a part of the old Paramāra kingdom and established there a kingdom of his own, which was later on inherited by his grandson Udayavarman. *GHP*, p. 181, fn.

[1] श्रीमज्जयवर्म्मदेवराज्ये व्यतीते निजकरकृतकरवालप्रसादावाप्त
निजाधिपत्यसमरतप्रशस्तोपेतसमधिगतपंचमहाशब्दा-
लंकारविराजमानमहाकुमारश्रीमल्लुगीवर्म्मदेव . . . . *IA*, XVI, p. 253.

[2] *IA*, XIX, pp. 351-53.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

[4] See above p. 126.

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mentioned in the grant of Lakṣmīvarman probably because the latter did not have his principality from the former, either through inheritance or as a gift.

Trailokyavarman's exact position in the genealogy of the *Mahākumāras* is uncertain, but he might have been, as suggested above, a fourth brother, who had received from his father Yaśovarman a *jāgīr* in an area, not very far from where Lakṣmīvarman had carved out a principality for himself. It was perhaps later confirmed by Jayavarman I. We have a fragmentary undated inscription of Trailokyavarman from Gyarāspur,[1] a town which lies 24 miles from Bhilsa on the road from Bhilsa to Sagar. The inscription refers to the consecration of an image of the god Chāmuṇḍasvāmideva and records the grant of a village to provide for the god's worship. The grant was made when *Mk* Trailokyavarman was encamped at Harshapur, *i.e.* Harsauḍa, a village in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh. This suggests that the territory over which Trailokyavarman ruled extended from the Gyarāspur region in Bhilsa district to Harshapura in Nimar district.[2]

N.P. Chakravarty suggested that Trailokyavarman was probably ruling as a regent during the minority of *Mk* Hariśchandra. But Hariśchandra's being described as having received his principality through Trailokyavarman's favour even though he was Lakṣmīvarman's son, can be explained in other ways also.

Hariśchandra's place in the genealogy is certain. He was Lakṣmīvarman's son and Udayavarman's father. But his relationship to his father and his son, as well as to Jayavarman I and Trailokyavarman presents some complications. He does not describe himself as the *tadapādānudhyāta* of Lakṣmīvarman, though he is mentioned as Lakṣmīvarman's son in his Piplianagar grant.[3] Nor does Udayavarman call himself a *pādānudhyāta* of Hariśchandra though he is described as Hariśchandra's son in the concluding portion of the Bhopal plates. And this complexity becomes even more complex, when we find Hariśchandra being described as having received his principality through the favour

1 *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 93-94.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *JASB*, VII (1838), p. 737.

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of Trailokyavarman in his Bhopal plates, and through the favour of Jayavarman I in his Piplianagar grant. Hariśchandra's inscriptions do not speak of his inheriting Lakṣmīvarman's dominions.

Some of the tentative solutions that may be suggested are that

(a) Hariśchandra might have been adopted as his son by Lakṣmīvarman's younger brother Trailokyavarman, most probably because the latter was issueless. This would explain the description that Hariśchandra obtained his sovereignty through the favour of *Mk* Trailokyavarman.

(b) This adoption might have been approved and confirmed and perhaps been suggested by Jayavarman I, the overlord about whom also, therefore, it might be said that Harishcandra received his sovereignty through the favour of *P-M-P* Jayavarman I.

(c) It may be that Hariśchandra received his principality from *P-M-P* Jayavarman I through the intervention of *Mk* Trailokyavarman.

(d) Another possibility is that Hariśchandra perhaps did not approve of his father Lakṣmīvarman's action in establishing a separate principality for himself, with the result that Lakṣmīvarman's appanage was passed on not to Hariśchandra but to the latter's son Udayavarman. And hence the omission of Hariśchandra's name from the grant of Udayavarman.

For Hariśchandra we have two inscriptions, Bhopal plates dated 1157 A.D.[1] and the Piplianagar land-grant dated 1178 A.D.[2] The object of the first record is the grant by Hariśchandra of the village Dādrapadra, belonging to Vikhilapadra-twelve and situated in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*. But sometime after this, the Chaulukyas seem to have wrested this area from the hands of the Paramāras, as is evidenced by the Chaulukya records dated 1163[3] A.D. and 1172 A.D.[4] But the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla (*c.* 1172-75 A.D.) was an

1 *EI*, XXIV, pp. 225-34.
2 *JASB*, VII (1838), pp. 736-41.
3 *IA*, XVIII, p. 343 ; *vide ante* Chap. VII.
4 *Ibid.*

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unpopular ruler and had soon to face dissensions within his dominions and aggression from outside. During this period, perhaps, Hariśchandra established his sovereignty once again and was thus enabled to issue his Piplianagar grant in 1178 A.D. Its object is to record that Hariśchandra having bathed in the holy waters of the Narmada, near the temple of the four-faced Mārkaṇḍeśvara, granted two shares of the registered rents of the village of Palasvada to the learned Brāhmaṇa Daśaratha, son of the learned Sindhu. It is further stated that on the full moon of Vaiśākha of the same year, he gave the remaining shares of both the customary dues from the bazar below the fort of Guṇapura, to the Brāhmaṇa Mālavinu, son of the learned Delu.[1]

Hariśchandra had two sons, Udayavarman and Devapāla and in his principality he was succeeded by the latter. We do not know the exact date when Hariśchandra closed his reign.

For Udayavarman, the son of Hariśchandra and the successor of Lakṣmīvarman, we have one inscription dated 1199 A.D. (V.S. 1256), recording the grant of the village of Gunaura, identified by Fleet with Ganora, a village seven miles to the south-west of Hoshangabad.[2] In this inscription he is said to have been the son of *Mk* Hariśchandra and the successor of *Mk* Lakṣmīvarman.[3] Two inscriptions from the former Bhopal state and referring to a ruler named Udayāditya and dated 1184 A.D. (V.S.1241) and 1186 A.D. (Ś. 1108),[4] perhaps belong to this very ruler, for no other Udayāditya is known to have ruled in Bhopal and Hoshangabad area at this time.

Udayavarman perhaps died without any male issue and so most probably was succeeded by his younger brother Devapāla who, by succeeding also to the throne of the main branch, reunited all the houses of the Paramāras of Malwa.[5]

1 *JASB,* VII (1838), pp. 736-41.

2 Perhaps the same as Gaonri of Vākpati II's land-grants. *EI,* XXIII, pp. 101-13.

3 *IA,* XVI, pp. 252-56.

4 *JAOS,* VII, p. 35.

5 *Vide infra* Chap. IX.

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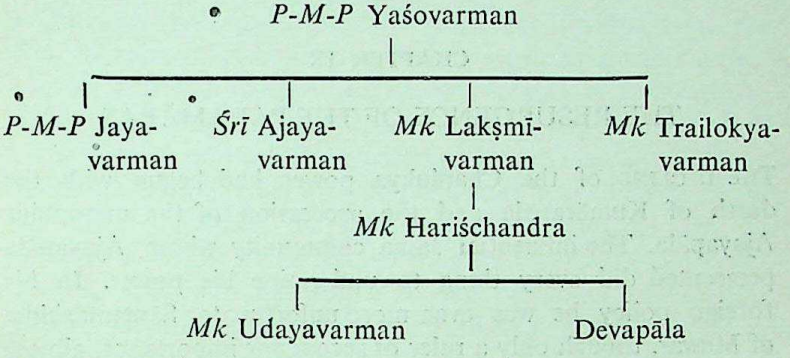
In the light of the above discussion we can reconstruct the genealogical list of the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* in the following manner :



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CHAPTER IX

THE RESURGENCE OF THE PARAMĀRAS

THE DECLINE of the Chaulukya power had begun with the death of Kumārapāla and the succession of the unpopular Ajayapāla. The influential Jaina community whom Ajayapāla persecuted did every thing to undermine his power. In his foreign policy he was even more unfortunate. Sāmantasiṁha of Mewar, though only a ruler of secondary importance, almost routed his army and wounded him.[1] Ajayapāla was stabbed to death in 1175 A.D. by one of his servants and was succeeded by Mūlarāja II who was a mere child at the time of his accession.[2] It was under these favourable circumstances that the imperial Paramāras reasserted their independence.

Vindhyavarman : c. 1175-94 A.D.

After the extinction of the kingdom of Jayavarman I, the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* had established their rule in the south-east of Malwa.[3] In the interior, however, Ajayavarman[4] the father of Vindhyavarman, perhaps ruled over some territory, the definite limits of which we cannot determine due to the inadequacy of the evidence available to us. He might have accepted the suzerainty of the Chaulukyas. But his son Vindhyavarman, whatever his initial position might have been, appears to have decided to drive the Chaulukyas out of Malwa and to counter attack Gujarat, if possible.[5] The task, however,

[1] *IA*, LIII (1924), pp. 100-02.

[2] *Pc*, pp. 96-97 ; Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap. VIII.

[4] We disagree with Ganguly and Chakravarty who think that Jayavarman I mentioned in the inscriptions of the *Mahākumāras* and Ajayavarman mentioned in the inscriptions of the main line are one and the same person. As we have seen above, this Ajayavarman is difinitely different from Jayavarman I, as the former is invariably mentioned by this name in all the inscriptions of his successors.

[5] *EI*, IX, p. 114, vv. 12-13.

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did not prove easy. In 1187 A.D. we find the Chaulukya armies, commanded by their general Jagaddeva Pratīhāra, operating in Malwa.[1] Vindhyavarman is said to have been defeated also at Goggasthāna by Kumāra, the Chaulukya general.[2] But in spite of these reverses Vindhyavarman appears to have recovered Dhārā and liberated the greater part of Malwa before 1190 A.D. This is the date of the composition of the commentary[3] on the *Vṛttaratnākara* by Vindhyavarman's court-poet Sulhaṇa.[4] It refers to Vindhyavarman as the king of Avanti, the king of Dhārā, the king of Malwa and the one who inflicted a terrible defeat on the mighty Chaulukya king who, we are told, was undefeated so far by hundereds of other kings.[5] The liberation of Dhārā is further corroborated by the

[1] *Kharatara-gachchha-brhadagurvāvalī*, pp. 8, 34.

[2] *Surāthotsava*, V, v. 136.

[3] *Cf.* संवत्सरे रसपयोनिधिसूर्यसंख्ये श्रीविक्रमान्नरपते
रचितामयेयम् *i.e.* V.S. 1246=1190 A.D.

[4] For references to Sulhaṇa and his work I am indebted to Prof. Valenkar of Bombay who very kindly agreed to send me a copy of his unpublished paper, *Sulhaṇa and Vindhyavarman of the Paramāra Dynasty*, the summary of which was published in the *PIHC*, 1960. See also *JUB*, XX (1951-52), pt. II, pp. 78-100 ; *JUB*, XXII (1953-54), pt. II, pp. 56-82 ; *JUB*, XXIII (1954-55), pt. II, pp. 29-44.

[5] उपस्थितमनैकाश्वेभकीर्णं (वीर्णं) चुलुक्यनृपतेः सैन्यं विशालम् ।
अवन्तिनृपतिं हित्वा न कोऽपि ध्रुवं क्षितितले जेतुं समर्थः ॥४५॥
JUB, XXII (1953-54), pt. II, p. 64.
ये ये त्वया संयति शत्रुभूपा हता हताशेष विपक्षवर्गाः ।
आख्यानिकी कीर्त्तिरवन्तिनाथ बभूव ते सच्चरितान्तरिक्षे ॥६॥
JUB, XXIII (1954-55), pt. II, p. 31.
अद्रीन्द्रवंशादि समस्तभूरुहप्रच्छादितानेकगुहागृहोऽपि सन् ।
धाराधिनाथस्य भयेन विद्रुताभृगौष्टुरिष्टान्न भवानिवेश्वरः ॥४८॥
JUB, XXII (1953-54), pt. II, p. 65.
मालवक्षितीश माषमुद्गशालि-यवानतारिभूपमेदिनी समग्रा ।
आत्मसात्कृता त्वया रिपून्विजित्य समग्रसैन्यसंयुतानपि प्रसह्य ॥११॥
JUB, XXIII (1954-55), pt. II, p. 32.
य इहानुदिनं न पूजयेत्तां परलोकानुरतश्च मालवः स्यात् ।
स कथं प्रलभेत तत्फलं वा यदि देवीं किल मालभारिणीं (+यम्) ॥१२॥ *Ibid.*
तुरगगजवतीं तुलार्क चुलुक्य नृपते-
स्ततैरितर नृपशतैश्चभूमपराजिताम् ।
जयति विजयदोर्युगैकसहायवा-
नधिनिपतिरसौ प्रमारकुलोद्भवः ॥७४॥ *JUB*, XXII (1953-54), pt. II, p. 69.

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Māndhātā plates of Devapāla which state that Vindhyavarman was eager to extirpate the Gurjaras (*Gurjaroccheda*) and that 'the sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges, to protect as it were the three worlds'.[1] The same fact is reiterated in the inscriptions of Arjunavarman[2] and is further corroborated by the Jaina teacher Āśādhara, who states that he left Maṇḍalagarh in Sapādalakṣa after its subjugation by the Turks, and found asylum in the kingdom of Malwa which was then being ruled over by king Vindhyavarman.[3]

According to D.C. Ganguly, the Gurjara king in whose time Vindhyavarman achieved independence was Mūlarāja II.[4] But as Mūlarāja II ruled only up to 1178 A.D.[5] and Malwa remained under the Chaulukyan legions up to 1187 A.D.,[6] it is best to identify the Gurjara ruler defeated by Vindhyavarman with Bhīma II, the successor of Mūlarāja II. Malwa appears to have attained its independence between 1187 and 1190 A.D.[7]

Vindhyavarman also came into conflict with the rulers of the Deccan. The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī were no longer a great power, their place had been taken up by the Hoysaḷas of Dorasamudra and the Yādavas of Devagiri. The Yādava ruler Bhillama (1187-91 A.D.) is said to have routed one *Vindhya-bhūbhṛt*,[8] who seems to be no other than the Paramāra chief

1 *EI*, IX, pp. 108-09, vv. 12-13.

2 *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378, vv. 12-13 ; *JAOS*, VII, p. 26, vv. 12-13 ; *IA*, XIX, p. 346, fn. 3.

3 *Sagāra-Dharmāmṛta*, p. 1 ; *vide infra* Chap. XVI.

4 *GHP*, p. 189.

5 *DHNI*, II, p. 1003.

6 See above p. 137, fn. 1.

7 See above p. 137, fns. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

8 येनोद्यद्विंध्यभूभृत्प्रसभनियमितः शूरमार्गन्न भेजे दर्प-
च्चालुक्यवत्रातान्यपि च कवलितो येन जीर्णः क्षणार्द्धात् ।
येन प्रासादि भूयो मलयपरिमलोद्गारिणी दक्षिणाशा
स श्रीभिल्लमदेवो घटजमुनिरिवापीतकाकत्यसिंधुः ॥
येन सेनारजोराजिनिरुद्धे मिहिराध्वनि । वंध्यो
विंध्यगिरिरतम्भः कुंभयोनेरकल्पत ॥ vv. 10-11 of the Kalegaon plates of Yādava Mahādeva, dated 1261 A.D.

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Vindhyavarman.[1] The Mutgi inscription of Bhillama dated 1189 A.D. describes him as 'a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas'.[2] An inscription of Gaṅga Narasiṁha, a feudatory of the Hoysaḷa chief Ballāḷa II of Dorasamudra, dated 1190 A.D., states that 'the master of the elephants, the Mālava king, the war-like Lala (Lāṭa) king distinguished for his troops of horses, the Gurjara king with the Choḷa king united came against him, but he by himself fought and subdued them in the field of battle, having received the command of the king Ballāḷa (II), this Narasiṁha'.[3] The Kodur inscription dated 1202 A.D. reports that Narasiṁha trampled the Choḷas and slew the Mālava army.[4] The Arsikere inscription, dated 1209 A.D., says that Ballāḷa II was a fever to the Choḷa, Mālava and Gurjara.[5] The Yādava and the Hoysaḷa raids, though a matter

[1] The editor of the inscription is of the opinion that the *Vindhyabhūbhṛt* is the 'king of the Vindhyas' whom he has not identified. He also thinks that the words *'Vandhyo-vindhyagiri-stambhaḥ-kumbhayonera kalpata'* mean that Bhillama established pillars of victory in the Vindhyas. But as pointed out by Dr. Chakravarty, the general editor of *EI*, XXXII, it seems that this *Vindhyabhūbhṛt* was no other than the Paramāra ruler Vindhyavarman, whose territory was adjacent to the Vindhyas and who was a contemporary of Bhillama Yādava.

Actually, verse 11 of the Kalegaon inscription has not been understood by the editor of the inscription. It contains an interesting mythological reference. It is that due to a severe contest between the Vindhya and the Himālaya mountains, it was feared that the earth would be deprived of the sun-light. So the gods went to Muni Agastya and requested him to ask his *śiṣya* Vindhya to withdraw from the contest. But Vindhya would not listen to Agastya. Agastya then went to the Himālaya but the latter was also not willing to withdraw first. Agastya came back to Vindhya and told him to stop growing till the Muni came back to him again. Thus saying Agastya went to the south, did not come back for quite some time, and so Vindhya could not grow. Thus Agastya, who belonged to the south, put a limit to the growth of the Vindhyan mountains which perhaps is referred to in the words *'Vandhyo-vindhyagiri-stambhaḥ-kumbhayonera kalpata'*.

The relevance of such a mythological reference just after the historical fact *i.e. Vindhyabhūbhṛt's* defeat at the hands of Bhillama, seems to be in the indication that as Agastya (a Dākṣinātya) put a limit to the growth of *Vindhyaparvata*, so Bhillama, who was also a Dākṣinātya, put a limit to the growth of the political ambition of king Vindhyavarman.

[2] *EI*, XV, pp. 34-35, v. 9.

[3] *EC*, VI, Kd, no. 156.

[4] *Ibid.*, no. 127.

[5] *EC*, V, Ak, no. 40.

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of pride for the aggressors, however, seem to have left no appreciable impression on the economy or the political conditions of Malwa.

Vindhyavarman had obviously no peaceful reign. He had to be constantly on the march against his enemies. Nor was he always successful against them. Yet, his reign must remain memorable, because it was through his efforts that the Paramāra family was restored to something of its old glory in Malwa. Bilhaṇa, the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Vindhyavarman was a great scholar[1] and a friend of *Paṇḍita* Āśādhara. Sulhaṇa was probably his court-poet. He recounts an hitherto unknown episode of Vindhyavarman's life, namely that the king abandoned his own dear son like a blade of grass without hesitation as he had become infamous.[2] Who this son was and why he had become infamous is a mystery unsolved and insoluble so far. During his reign other centres of learning besides Dhārā were, Ujjain, Nalakachhapura (Nalcha) and Maṇḍapadurga (Mandu).

We do not know the exact date when Vindhyavarman closed his reign. He was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman.

Subhaṭavarman : c. 1194-1209 A.D.

Vindhyavarman's son and successor Subhaṭavarman, also known as Śrībhaṭa and Sohaḍa, aided further the work of the Paramāra resurgence. The situation in Gujarat was bad due to the weak rule of Bhīma II, who was defeated even by his own feudatories. His powerful general Jagaddeva Pratīhāra, who had till then held the fissiparous elements in check, was probably dead. Thus Subhaṭavarman had a good chance to fulfil his ambition.

Subhaṭavarman led his armies against Lāṭa and despoiled the city of Dabhoi of its wealth, not sparing even the gold cupolas of its temples. Arisiṁha states that the gold pitchers from the temple of Vaidyanātha in Darbhāvatī, were removed by the lord of the Mālavas, but Vastupāla restored

[1] *Cf. A Fragmentary Inscription from Mandu, ABORI,* XI, pp. 49-53.

[2] मुञ्चति तृणमिव विगतविकल्पः पुत्रं प्रियमापि विश्लोकं यः ।
संग्रामभुवि जितारिसमूहः क्षोणिमिमां स साक्षादीव्यात् ॥ *JUB,* XX (1951-52), pt. II, p. 97.

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these again.[1] Though Arisiṁha does not name the king of Malwa, the name is supplied to us by the *Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī* of Jayasiṁha. It relates that Vastupāla erected many buildings, repaired the temple of Pārśvanātha at Stambhana and restored nineteen golden capitals in the temple of Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi, which had been taken away by Subhaṭa, the king of Malwa.[2] Bālachandra also states that the minister Tejaḥpāla repaired a series of Jaina temples which had been demolished by the army of Malwa.[3] During his campaign Subhaṭavarman seems to have reached as far as Cambay, where a mosque is said to have been destroyed by the raiding army of Malwa.[4] It seems that after the conquest of Lāṭa, Subhaṭavarman put in power the Chauhān dynasty of Broach, of which the only members known to us are Siṁha, his brother Sindhurāja, and the latter's son Śaṁkha.[5]

After despoiling Lāṭa the Paramāra forces appear to have marched against Aṇhilapattana, the capital of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. The inscriptions of the successors of Subhaṭavarman claim that 'the fire prowess of this conqueror (*i.e.* Subhaṭa-varman), like the fiery rays of the sun, which exercised its thundering rage in the city of Pāṭan of the blustering Gurjara

1 *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana*, p. 135, v. 33.

2 *SKK*, p. 16.

3 *Vasantavilāsa*, V, p. 20, v 4.

4 We are told by Muhammad 'Awfī, the author of the celebrated *Jawāmī u'l-Hikāyāt*, that the mosque and the minarets of the Jāmi' mosque, which had been built by the orders of and a grant of one lakh *balotras* by the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A D.), were demolished when the army of Malwa invaded Naharwāla. Sa'īd, son of Abu Sharāf Yāmin (*recte* Bammi) rebuilt them at his own expense. *JOI* (Baroda), X, no. 4(1961), p. 357.

That the raid of Cambay and the destruction of the mosque took place a few years before 1218 A D. is proved by a recently discovered Arabic inscription from Sālwā Mohallā mosque in Cambay. It states that Sa'īd, son of Abu Sharāf, son of 'Alī, son of Shapur al-Bammi constructed a Jāmi' mosque on the ruins of an older one, out of his personal wealth in the month of Muharram, A.H. 615=1218 A.D., when Gujarat was being ruled over by Bhīma II Chaulukya (1178-1242 A.D.) *Indian Archaeology 1959-60—A Review*, p. 62 ; *ARIE*, 1959-60, no. D. 95.

5 Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

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(*Garjjan-Gurjara-pattane*), is witnessed to the present day in the forest conflagration that still prevails in the country'.[1]

Merutuṅga however brings the Paramāra king only up to the boundary of Gujarat. He states that "while the king (Bhīma II) was reigning, the king of Malwa, named Sohaḍa, advanced to the borders of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country, but the minister of Bhīmadeva went to meet him and addressed the following couplet to him : 'thy blaze of might, O sun of kings, gleans in the eastern quarter, but it will be extinguished when thou shalt descend into the western region'.[2] When Sohaḍa (*i.e.* Subhaṭavarman) heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister, he turned back".[3]

Merutuṅga seems to have been completely misinformed not only about the raid, but its extent too, for besides the Paramāra records, Śrīdhara's Devapattana *praśasti* also states that 'he (*i.e.* Śrīdhara) quickly again made stable, by the power of his *mantra* (*i.e.* his political advice, wisdom etc.), the country that had been shaken by the multitude of the (impetuous) war elephants of Malwa resembling a forest of dark *tamāla* trees and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power'.[4]

But the Paramāra success and occupation of Gujarat, however, proved a temporary affair. The *Kīrtikaumudī*[5] and the Dabhoi inscription[6] speak of the rescue of the country of Gujarat by Bhīma II's powerful feudatory Lavaṇaprasāda of Ḍholaka, from the hands of the king of Dhārā. That this king of Dhārā was no other than Subhaṭavarman himself, is proved by the statement of Bālachandra who mentions Śrībhaṭa (*i.e.* Subhaṭavarman) as one of the adversaries of Lavaṇaprasāda,[7] the son of Arṇorāja.

1 *EI*, IX, p. 108, v. 15 ; *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378, v. 15 ; *JAOS*, VII, p. 26, v. 15,

2 *Pc*, pp. 97-98.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *EI*, II, pp. 444-45.

5 *KK*, II, v. 74.

6 *EI*, I, p. 27, v 18

7 एकतस्त्रिदशमूर्त्तिभिरर्णोराजसू नुभिरुपेत्य विलग्नैः ।
मालवक्षितिधरं वत मध्ये कृत्य कृत्यविदुषाऽन्यत एव ॥२९॥
श्रीभटेन वलिनैकतमेनोल्लोडिताद्यदिह विग्रहवार्द्धेः ।
कालकूटमुदगाद्यदुसैन्यं तन्न्यवर्त्तयदयं ननु भीमः ॥३०॥ *Vasantavilāsa*, V. p. 22.

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An inscription from Mangoli, dated about 1200 A.D., speaks of the Yādava ruler Jaitugi's victory over a leader of the forces of Malwa.[1] As Subhaṭavarman was on the throne at that time, the conflict may be ascribed to his time.

Subhaṭavarman was a successful soldier and a capable general. Though he did not succeed in conquering the whole of Gujarat, he incorporated at least Lāṭa into the Paramāra kingdom. He continued also the cultural activity of the Paramāras. *Paṇḍita* Āśādhara wrote some of his works during his reign.[2] He was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman sometime by 1210 A.D.

Arjunavarman I : 1210-15 A.D.

For Arjunavarman I, the son and successor of Subhaṭavarman, we have three records, dated respectively in the years 1210 A.D.,[3] 1213 A.D. and 1215 A.D.[4] These inscriptions show that Arjunavarman's dominions extended at least up to the Narmada in the south,[5] to Broach in the west[6] and to Shujalpur *pargana* in the east.[7]

Arjunavarman I's most outstanding achievement was the defeat of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. Merutuṅga calls Arjunavarman as the 'destroyer of Gujarat' and states that Arjuna completely over ran the realm of the Gurjara.[8] The Paramāra inscriptions describe Arjunavarman as one whose 'fame spread in all the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the *Dikpālas*' when in battle 'which was his childhood's frolic . . . Jayasiṁha took to flight'.[9] The drama *Pārijātamañjarī*

[1] *EI*, V, p. 31.

[2] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

[3] *JASB*, V (1836), pp. 378-83.

[4] *JAOS*, VII, pp. 24-47.

[5] Arjunavarman is said to have granted some tracts of land in the village of Hathinavāra situated on the northern bank of the Narmada. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-31.

[6] The king made a land-grant in 1213 A.D., to Purohita Govinda Śarman, while residing at Bhṛgūkachchha, *i.e.* Baroach. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[7] One of his inscriptions have been discovered from Piplianagar in Shujalpur, see above fn. 3.

[8] *Pc*, p. 97.

[9] बाललीलाहवे यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते ।
दिक्पालहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥ *JAOS*, VII, p. 26, v. 17; *JASB*, V (1836), p. 379.

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of which only two acts have survived, also narrates the victory of Arjunavarman I over Jayasiṁha Chaulukya. It says that king Arjunavarman defeated the Chaulukya king in the valley of Parva Mountain and captured Jayaśrī.[1] As the daughter of Jayasiṁha, with whom Arjunavarman I is said to have fallen in love, is referred to as the '*Chaulukya-mahī-mahendra-duhitādevī Jayaśrī*'[2] and Jayasiṁha himself is called as *Gurjarapati*,[3] it shows that Arjunavarman I's adversary was a Chaulukya king of Gujarat. Though a ruler with this name is not mentioned by any of the Gujarat chronicles, he may be regarded as the Chaulukya ruler of this name who usurped the Chaulukya throne and occupied the capital for some time. His existence is proved by his own Kādī grant, issued from Aṇhilapattana in 1223 A.D.[4] It describes him as Abhinava Siddharāja-Jayantasiṁha, the rescuer of Gujarat from some great calamity and misfortune.[5]

Arjunavarman I had to contest not only against Jayasiṁha Chaulukya but also another enemy, the Yādava ruler Siṁhaṇa (*c.* 1210-47 A.D.). In this struggle Arjunavarman I was rendered military assistance by his feudatory Salakhaṇasiṁha Chāhamāna. We are told by v. 60 of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II that the Chāhamāna leader of the Paramāra forces defeated the army of Siṁhaṇadeva, no doubt the Yādava king of that name, and captured seven silken plumes from the general Sāgaya-raṇaka, apparently a leader of Siṁhaṇa's forces, after having pulled the general down from his horse which was in the middle of the contingent. This feat of valour pleased both Siṁha and Arjuna (*i.e.* Paramāra feudatory Siṁha king of Lāṭa and king Arjunavarman), who shook their hands in appreciation.[6] The verse perhaps refers to the Yādava invasion of Lāṭa which formed a part of the dominions of Arjunavarman I and which was beaten back by the Paramāra general Salakhaṇasiṁha.

[1] *EI*, VIII, p. 103.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *IA*, VI, p. 196, no. 4.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 197, ll. 18-20.
[6] Jitvā Siṁhaṇadeva-du-ruddhara-mahāsainyaṁ chamū-nāyakaṁ
mādhyāt=Sāgaya-rāṇakaṁ svayam=ih=ādhaḥ pātayitvā hayāt ।
tasmāt=paṭṭamayāni sapta samare yaś=chāmarāṇy=agrahīn-mūrddh-
āṇauparidhūnayan=rasa-vasā(śā)-t=Siṁh-Ārjjuna-kshmā-bhujoḥ ॥
EI, XXXII, pp. 142, 152.

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The Yādava ruler seems to have launched a large and well equipped expedition against Lāṭa, a second time, when the Paramāras were perhaps worsted. The Yādava commander of this expedition was a Brāhmaṇa general named Kholeśvara who secured a victory in the battle that ensued.[1] The Paramāra feudatory Siṁha's younger brother Sindhurāja was killed, while fighting, on the banks of river Narmada and the latter's son Saṅgrāmasiṁha also known as Śaṅkha was taken as a prisoner[2] and the Yādava flag was planted on the ramparts of Broach (*Bhṛgukachchha-mahīm-ahīnāśyam*).[3] It is perhaps this Yādava victory that is referred to in the Bahl inscription dated 1222 A.D., which records Siṁhaṇa's victory over Arjuna.[4] The same fact is mentioned also in the Paithan plates of Yādava Rāmachandra,[5] a remote successor of Siṁhaṇa. The *Vratakhaṇḍaprashasti* of Hemādri states that Siṁhaṇa's cavalry besieged the *Dhārādharadhīśvara, i.e.* the ruler of Dhārā. It also says that Arjuna, the ruler of Dhārā, was reduced to a mere story by Siṁhaṇa,[6] which would perhaps mean that Arjuna I was killed on the battlefield while fighting against the Yādava ruler Siṁhaṇa[7]; at least he seems to have died young and issueless and so was succeeded by Devapāla of the *Mahākumāra* line.[8]

From the cultural point of view there was no falling off from the old Paramāra traditions. The *Pārijātamañjarīnāṭikā*[9] proves

[1] *CITD*, p. 52.
[2] *KK*, IV, v. 82 ; *VV*, V, 43-44 ; *HMM*, II, p. 17.
[3] *ASWI*, III, pp. 85-86.
[4] *EI*, III, p. 113, v. 14.
[5] *IA*, XIV, p. 316, l. 27.
[6] येनानीत मत्तवारणघटा जज्जल्लभूमिभृतः
कवकूलादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।
येन क्षोणीभृदर्जुनोपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां
येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः काराकुटुम्बीकृतः ॥४३॥
यद्गम्भागिरिवेसरी विनिकृतो लक्ष्मीधरः क्ष्मापति-
र्यद्बाहाबलिभिः प्रसह्य रुरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।
बल्लालक्षितिपाललालितभुवां सर्वापहारश्च यः
श्री सिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयते यद्बाललीलायितम् ॥४४॥ *BG*, I, pt. II, p. 272.

[7] The Bahl inscription dated 1222 A.D. (*EI*, III, p. 113), however refers only to the defeat and not the death of Arjunavarman. See also *YEHD*, p. 534, fn. 2.
[8] *Vide ante* Chap. VIII
[9] *EI*, VIII, pp. 100-22 ; see Chap. XVI.

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the high level of civilization and cultural glory attained by Malwa during this period. Arjunavarman I, like his glorious predecessors, was not only a patron of poets and scholars, but himself was a poet of a very high calibre.[1] He assumed the epithet *Trividhivīrachuḍāmaṇi*.[2]

Govinda was his family priest; Mādhava his *guru*; Bilhaṇa and Salakkhaṇa were his Ministers for Peace and War and Nārāyaṇa was his Chief Minister.[3]

Devapāla : c. 1218-39A.D.

Devapāla, the successor of Arjunavarman I was the son of *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra, whom he succeeded in the latter's principality in Khandesh.[4] His period can be described as the twilight of the Paramāra power. To him also befell the succession of the territories of his elder brother *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman, who had succeeded his grandfather *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman.[5] After the death of Arjunavarman I, Devapāla ascended also the throne of Malwa and thus reunited all parts of Malwa kingdom of the Paramāras. As the last known date of Arjunavarman I is 1215 A.D.[6] and the first known inscription of Devapāla is dated in 1218 A.D.[7] the latter must have ascended the throne of Dhārā somewhere between these two dates.

Devapāla ascribes his accession to the favour of the goddess Limbārayā,[8] whereas his ancestors had generally accorded it to some reigning prince or chief. Perhaps he ascended the throne of Dhārā on its being left unoccupied at the death of Arjunavarman I on the battlefield against the Yādava king Siṁhaṇa. In the Harsauḍa inscription, which is the earliest inscription of his reign, though the subordinate title

[1] *EI*, VIII, pp. 100-22 ; see Chap. XVI.

[2] *JAOS*, VII, p. 26, v. 19 ; *EI*, VIII, p. 102.

[3] *Cf. Sagāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 2 ; *EI*, VIII, pp. 100-22 ; *EI*, IX, p. 107 ; *JASB*, V (1836), pp. 378-9.

[4] *Vide ante* Chap. VIII.

[5] *Ibid.*

As we do not hear anything about the successors of Udayavarman, he seems to have died issueless and so perhaps was succeeded by his younger brother Devapāla.

[6] *JAOS*, VII, p. 26.

[7] *IA*, XX, pp. 311-12.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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Mahākumāra is replaced by the imperial one of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājadhirāja-parameśvara*, Devapāla still retains a part of his original title *viz*, *Samasta-praśast-opeta-samadhigatapaṁcha-mahāśabdaalaṁkṛta*[1] which is missing in all the later records of the king. This might have been, however, through the inadvertence of a scribe who had become accustomed to the use of the older titles, or are we to assume that Devapāla agreed temporarily to regard Siṁhaṇa Yādava as his suzerain ? The first alternative seems to be more plausible of the two.

Three more inscriptions of Devapāla's reign have come to light *i.e.* Māndhātā copper-plate inscription dated 1225 A.D.[2] and two records dated respectively 1229 A.D. and 1232 A.D. (?), discovered from the temple of Udaipur (in Gwalior).[3] This shows that Devapāla ruled at least for fourteen years *i.e.* from 1218 A.D. to 1232 A.D. The information supplied by the inscriptions of Devapāla, when added to what we gather from the period of Arjunavarman I, would show that the Paramāra dominions under Devapāla extended as far as Udaipur (M.P.) in the east, Hoshangabad and Nimar districts in the south and perhaps Broach in the west.

The fight against the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and the Yādavas of Devagiri continued with redoubled vigour in the reign of Devapāla. Though Bhima II (1178-1242 A.D.) was a weak ruler, he had powerful ministers in the person of Lavaṇaprasāda Vaghela and latter's son Vīradhavala Vaghela. Consequently, the Chaulukyas took the offensive. Siṁha, the Chauhān chief of Lāṭa seems to have changed his allegiance to the Chaulukyas after his discomfiture at the hands of the Yādavas.[4] He sought the aid of his erstwhile enemy Lavaṇaprasāda, who being jealous of the rising power of his rival Siṁhaṇa came to the rescue of the Chauhāns of Lāṭa during this hour of their distress ; while Devapāla, the professed overlord and ally of the Lāṭa chief, hung

[1] It runs like this :
Śrīmad-Dhārāyam samastaprasast-opeta-samadhigata paṁchamahāśabdāla(ṁ)kāravirājamāna-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramamaheśvaraśrī-Limbāryā-prasāda-vara-labdha-pratāpa-śrimad-Devapāladeva-charaṇanāṁ-mahīpravarddhamāna-kalyāṇavijayarājye ॥ *IA*, XX, p. 311.

[2] *EI*, IX, pp. 103-17.

[3] *IA*, XX, p. 83.

[4] See above pp. 144-45.

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back.[1] Simha was thus bought over to the Chaulukyan side. Simha, however, does not seem to have lived long after this event and so Cambay was captured by the Chaulukyas.[2]

In the meanwhile Śaṅkha, the nephew of Simha, was released from the Yādava captivity, perhaps with a view to foment trouble for the Chaulukyas. Śaṅkha was eager to get back his patrimony and so at the head of the Yādava armies marched against Cambay,[3] then held by Vastupāla, but was beaten back.[4] Śaṅkha had to fall back, but renewed his anti-Chaulukyan activity after organising a strong confederacy consisting of himself, the Yādava ruler Simhaṇa and Devapāla, the ruler of Malwa.[5] Śaṅkha renewed his attack on Cambay when Gujarat was simultaneously threatened from many sides by the Yādava Simhaṇa from the south, by Sultan Iltutmish from the north-east and by the Paramāra Devapāla from the south-east, while the Marwar kings had rebelled once again to make the situation still worse.[6] Diplomacy combined with certain favourable circumstances, however, saved the Chaulukyas. Lavaṇaprasāda won over the disaffected rulers of Marwar,[7] and Iltutmish retired because some calamity threatened his own dominions from the north-west. The Paramāras and the Yādavas, too, did not find it possible to forget their old jealousies, and consequently, instead of defeating the Chaulukyas, they fell upon each other allowing Vastupāla, the minister of Vīradhavala, time enough to attack Broach and annex it to the Chaulukya dominions.[8]

[1] *HMM*, I, 13 ; *VV*, V, vv. 29-30.

[2] *HMM*, p. 4.
Cambay remained under the control of Vastupāla, the governor of Lavaṇaprasāda from V.S. 1279=1222 A.D., at least up to V.S. 1298=1241 A.D. when he is said to have received Jineśvara Sūri there. *IHQ*, XI, p. 180 ; see below p. 149, fn. 1.

[3] Śaṅkha is said to have acted as a general of Simhaṇa. *HMM*, I, p. 5.

[4] *KK*, IV, vv. 69-91 and canto V ; *VV*, V, vv. 47-111.

[5] *KK*, canto V ; *VV*, canto V ; *HMM*, p. 6.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[8] The second Act of the *HMM* states that Vastupāla sent a spy named Nipuṇaka to the camp of the Yādava chief Simhaṇa. Nipuṇaka's younger brother Suvega had managed to get the job of a horse-keeper under the Paramāra ruler Devapāla, and so one day he ran away with the best horse of Devapāla and presented it to Saṃgrāmasiṃha or Śaṅkha, the Chāhamāna ruler of Broach. The Chaulukya spy Nipuṇaka

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By 1231 A.D. the dynasty of Śaṅkha Chāhamāna had closed its career, and Vīrdhavala's son Vīśaladeva was ruling instead at Broach,[1] and his cousin Jayantašiṁha was at the same time in charge of Cambay.[2] Lāṭa was thus finally lost to the Paramāras of Malwa, not on account of lack of power but due to the absence of astuteness in Devapāla who could have, had he used his cards well, formed a very strong confederacy against Gujarat.

We do not know what exactly the result had been of Devapāla's fighting against Siṁhaṇa, the Yādava ruler of Devagiri. It was not, perhaps, very favourable. Siṁhaṇa's inscriptions generally describe him as 'a destroyer of the fortunes of the Mālavas'.[3]

Another and much more determined and stronger enemy of the Paramāra independence was approaching fast on the frontiers of Malwa. After their great successes in the battles against Pṛthvīrāja III of Delhi and Jaichandra of Kanauj, the Muslim

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first managed to have the Yādava advances diverted towards Malwa or at least stopped near the banks of the river Tapti in a forest. The same spy then managed a forged letter to fall into the hands of Siṁhaṇa which was supposed to have come from Devapāla in which he had addressed Śaṅkha as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and ordered him to obey certain instructions and reminded him of the death of his father at the hands of the Yādavas. The letter also said that Śaṅkha should draw his sword against Siṁhaṇa when the latter was attacked by the Mālava king Devapāla and that Devapāla was sending a horse as a present for Śaṅkha. As the spy had already induced Śaṅkha to accept Devapāla's horse, the Yādava king started making enquiries. On the other hand Nipuṇaka informed Śaṅkha through Suvega that Siṁhaṇa was angry with Śaṅkha and so the latter fled away in fear and Yādava Siṁhaṇa and Devapāla fell out. Thus the strong confederacy of the Chaulukya enemies was broken by the diplomacy of Vastupāla and Gujarat was saved.

In his encounter with Paramāra Devapāla, Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala might have been helped by Chachigadeva, who is described as the extirpator of the Mālavas in the inscription of his great grandson Mahārājakula Jaitrasiṁha. *EI*, XXXII, p. 222, v. 3.

1 *Prāchīna Jaina Lekhasaṁgraha*, II, p. 47.

2 The Colophon of a MSS dated V.S. 1298=1241-42 A.D. shows that Bhṛgukachchha was at that time under Viśaladeva. *Vide A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhandārs at Pāṭṭan*, p. 60; *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sāṅghvī Bhandār*, Mss. no. 84; see above p. 148, fn. 2.

3 *EC*, VII, Sk. no. 91.

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forces had penetrated into the interior of the country. In the reign of Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.), they ravaged Marwar, forced Udayasiṁha of Jalor to pay a heavy indemnity and captured Gwalior.[1] The endeavour to offer organised resistance to the Muslim arms was, as it were, abandoned completely. In 1234 A.D. the Sultan captured the fort of Bhilsa and demolished the temple of Bhaillasvāmin[2]; sacked Ujjain, destroying the celebrated temple of Mahākāla[3] which, according to Firishta, had taken three hundred years in building.[4] The images were carried away to Delhi[5] to be placed at the entrance of the great mosques and to be trampled upon by the 'faithful'.

The Paramāra kingdom was mercilessly robbed by the foreigners and deprived of some of its best treasures, yet Devapāla's resistance against the Delhi Sultan did not prove wholly unsuccessful, nor did it lack vigour. Before his death he seems to have recaptured Bhilsa. Verse 48 of the Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II, dated 1274 A.D.[6], mentions that Devapāla killed an *adhipa* of the *mlechchhas* (*i.e.* a king or a chief of the Muslims) in a battle fought near the city of Bhaillasvāmin.[7] This might refer to Iltutmish's attack on Bhaillasvāmin *i.e.* Bhilsa. The claim put forward in favour of Devapāla in the above mentioned inscription might indicate that the Paramāra king had succeeded in recovering the city of Bhilsa shortly after its conquest by Iltutmish. The *mlechchhādhipa* mentioned in the inscription was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge the city of Bhilsa might have been placed by the Sultan. That the Paramāras reconquered Bhilsa is also suggested by the fact that after half a century, the Khaljī Sultans of Delhi had to reconquer the city from the Hindus.[8] Bhilsa continued to be under the Paramāras for several decades after its reconquest

1 *TN*, p. 622.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *TF*, I, p. 211.
5 *Ibid.*, *HIED*, II, p. 328 ; *CHI*, III, p. 55 ; *TN*, I, p. 622 ; *TA*, I, p. 68.
6 *EI*, XXXII, pp. 139-56.
7 *Cf.* Bhaillasvāmi-pur-opakaṁṭha-samare-Mlechchh-ādhipaṁdurd-dharaṁ yaḥ krodhāt-taravāriṇ=aiva sahasā dvedhā vyadhād=uddhaṭaṁ (tam)‖ *Ibid.*, p. 151.
8 *Vide infra* Chap. X.

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by Devapāla before his death, and at least up to 1263 A.D. in which year Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II issued his Bhilsa inscription.[1]

Devapāla's end was probably inglorious. After the capture of Ranthambhor in 1226 A.D. by Iltutmish,[2] the Chāhamāna ruler Vīranārāyaṇa's uncle Vāgbhaṭa had found refuge in Malwa.[3] It is also likely that Vāgbhaṭa was assigned a small *jāgīr* for his maintenance by the Paramāra king Devapāla. But when Iltutmish returned from Malwa after his raid of 1234 A.D., perhaps he made peace conditional on the surrender of Vāgbhaṭa Chāhamāna,[4] who as the direct descendant of Pṛthvīrāja III, was one of the most feared rivals of the Sultan of Delhi. The *Hammīramahākāvya* states that Vāgbhaṭa killed the ruler of Malwa when he came to know that the latter was attempting to kill him at the instigation of the Śaka *i.e.* the Muslim Sultan of Delhi, and made himself the master of the kingdom of Malwa.[5] This statement of the *Hammīramahākāvya* is further corroborated by the genealogy given at the end of the *Prabandhakośa*, wherein Vāgbhaṭa is mentioned as the conqueror of Malwa.[6] Thus Devapāla seems to have died at the hands of Vāgbhaṭa Chauhān sometime before 1239 A.D., which is the earliest known date of his successor.

Like many of his predecessors, Devapāla enjoyed the distinction of being a patron of letters. Bilhaṇa remained his Minister for War and Peace.[7] The royal preceptor, Madana composed his Māndhātā inscription,[8] and the great Jaina scholar Āśādhara wrote his *Jinayajñakalpa* during his reign in

1 *EI*, XXXV, p. 187.
2 *HIED*, II, pp. 324-25.
3 *HMK*, IV, vv. 107-23.
4 According to the *HMK*, it was Jall-āl-uddīn who demanded Vāgbhaṭa from Devapāla. But as there was no king named as Jall-āl-uddīn ruling in India at that time with whom the Paramāras came into clash, this Jall-āl-uddīn might have been one of the generals of Iltutmish, who was appointed perhaps to deal with Devapāla or it may be a mistake on the part of the *HMK*.
5 *HMK*, IV, vv. 107-23.
6 *PKG*.
7 *EI*, IX, pp. 103-20.
8 *Ibid*.

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1228 A.D.[1] and *Triśaṣṭismṛti* in 1235 A.D.[2] The Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II refer to a city called Devapālapura,[3] *i.e.* modern Depālpur, 27 miles to the north-west of Mhow, which was probably founded by Devapāla.[4]

[1] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *EI*, XXXII, p. 162.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

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CHAPTER X

THE PARAMĀRA POWER FADES AWAY

Jaitugideva : c. 1239-55 A.D.

With the death of Devapāla, the deterioration of the Paramāra power in Malwa set in at a pace that gathered speed as it were with everyday that passed. For Devapāla's successor Jaitugi, the only dated references are in Āśādhara's works. He finished his *Sagāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1296=1239 A.D.[1] and his *Anagāra-dharmāmṛta* in V.S. 1300=1243 A.D.[2] in the reign of the new king *i.e.* Jaitugideva. No inscription of this prince has been discovered so far, but he is referred to invariably in the inscriptions of his younger brother and successor Jayavarman II. Jaitugi seems to have assumed the title *Bālanārāyaṇa*.[3]

The Yādavas of Devagiri continued their raids in Malwa during this period. Siṁhaṇa's successor Kṛṣṇa Yādava, who came to the throne in Ś. 1169=1247 A.D.,[4] invaded Malwa in about 1250 A.D.,[5] when Jaitugi was on the throne of Malwa. Almost about the same time, Sultan Nāsir-ud-dīn's Chief Minister Balban led an incursion into the kingdom of the Paramāras of Malwa. After capturing Chanderi and Marwar, he fell upon the country of Malwa. The *Tabqāt-i-Nāsirī* says that during his expedition Balban reached near unto Malwa,[6] and Firishta records that Nāsir-ud-dīn marched to Chanderi and Malwa and subdued them.[7] It seems, however, that even on this occasion the Muslims failed to establish their paramount

1 *Sagāra-dharmāmṛta*, p. 5 ; see also vv. 19-21 of the *praśāsti* at the end.

2 *Ibid.*; *EI*, IX, p. 118; Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, for 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

3 *EI*, IX, p. 121, v. 22.

4 *JBBRAS*, XII (1876-77), pp. 6-18.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 39; *EI*, XIX, p. 27.

6 *TN*, I, pp. 690-91.

7 *TF*. I, p. 239.

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authority over any part of Malwa, though of course, this raid hastened the downfall of the declining Paramāra regime.

Vīśaladeva, the Vaghela prince of Gujarat, too, did not miss this opportunity. He attacked Malwa and sacked the city of Dhārā. Vīśaladeva's Dabhoi inscription dated 1253 A.D. states that he won renown by defeating the king of Malwa.[1] His Kāḍī grant dated 1253 A.D. describes him as the 'destroyer of the pride of the king of the Mālavas'.[2] The Nāṇaka *praśasti* dated 1271 A.D. declares that 'the Heavens on high became terrifically dark by the rings of smoke rising from Mālavā set ablaze at the time of his (Vīśala's) attack'.[3] An inscription of the time of Karṇa II dated 1297 A.D., credits Vīśaladeva with having destroyed Dhārā,[4] and his court-poet Gaṇapativyāsa has made this invasion of Malwa by Vīśala, the subject of his *prabandha*, the *Dhārādhvaṁsa*.[5] An undated inscription composed by the same poet also refers to Vīśala's victory in Malwa.[6] All this evidence is a testimony to Vīśala's success in Malwa.

Jaitugi had yet to suffer another defeat. Nṛvarman (1254-55 A.D.) of Yajvapāla family is said to have defeated the king of Dhārā and exacted tribute from him.[7] This king of Dhārā was perhaps Jaitugi.

Jaitugideva closed his reign sometime before A.D. 1255 which is the earliest known date of his successor, Jayavarman II.[8]

Jayavarman II : c. 1255-74 A.D.

For Jayavarman II we have the following inscriptions :
The Rāhatgarh stone inscription which was issued on 28th

[1] *EI*, I, p. 28, v. 58.
[2] *IA*, VI, p. 212.
[3] *IA*, XI, p. 107, v. 4.
[4] *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 98.
[5] *IA*, XI, p. 107, v. 18.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 104, v. 6.
[7] *EI*, XXXIII, p. 69, v. 5.
[8] We agree neither with G.S. Ojha's suggestion that Jaitugideva and Jayavarman II were one and the same person (*RKI*, p. 202), nor with H.C. Ray's suggestion that Jaitugi may have been known also as Jayasiṁha (*DHNI*, II, p. 928) ; for, as suggested by D.C. Sircar, the two brothers, Jaitugi and Jayavarman, could not both of them have enjoyed the common name Jayasiṁha. *EI*, XXXII, p. 146.

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August, 1256 A.D. when *Mahārāja* Jaya(varman)deva was ruling at Dhārā.[1]

The Modi stone inscription dated 1257 A.D., refers to the reign of Jayavarman.[2]

The Atru inscription of Jayasiṁha II, dated 1257 A.D.[3]

The Māndhātā plates, issued in 1260 A.D.[4] They contain 53 lines and inform us that the king, while staying at Maṇḍapadurga, caused the Pratīhāra Gaṅgadeva to give the village of Vaḍauda in the Mahuḍapathaka to Mādhavaśarman and others.[5]

The Bhilsa inscription of the time of Jayasiṁha, dated V.S. 1320 =1263 A.D.[6] It refers to Bhaillasvāmidevapura (modern Bhilsa) where a pious act was performed by a lady during the reign of Jayasiṁha Paramāra.

The Pathārī inscription, dated 1269 A.D., belongs to the king Jayasiṁha.[7]

The Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II, issued in the year 1274 A.D.[8]

There is a controversy among the scholars as to whether Jayavarman mentioned in the Rāhatgarh, Modi and Māndhātā records is identical with Jayasiṁha of the Pathārī and Bhilsa inscriptions.[9] This controversy has now been solved by the recent publication of the Māndhāta plates in which the king is called Jayavarman in vv. 50 and 56 as well as in line 87 and v. 72; whereas he is called Jayasiṁha in vv. 51-52.[10] This shows clearly that Jayavarman and Jayasiṁha were one and the same person.[11] On the basis of the inscriptions Jayavarman II may be assigned a reign period from 1255 A.D. to 1274 A.D.

1 *ASR*, (Cunn.), X, p. 31 ; *IA*, XX, p. 84, fn. 3.
2 *PRAS, WC*, 1904-05, p. 12 ; *PRAS, WC*, 1912-13, p. 56.
3 *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 56.
4 *EI*, IX, pp. 117-23.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *EI*, XXXV, pp. 187-88.
7 *EI*, V, App., p. 23, no. 232 ; *NII*, no. 623.
8 *EI*, XXXII, pp. 139-56.
9 D.C. Ganguly thinks that they were two different persons *viz*, Jayavarman II and Jayasiṁha II. *GHP*, p. 227.
10 *EI*, XXXII, pp. 151-52, 156.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

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V. 52 of the Māndhātā plates of 1274 A.D. contains some information the nature of which is not very clear. The verse reads thus :

Uddaṁḍo dadatāṁ paṭuḥ pravadatām=ujjāgaro jānatā(ṁ) bhāvīśrī-Jayasiṁhaity=avanipo dharmm=āika-va(ba)ddhavratah, dauhitro=trakulevipaśchid=uchitaḥpautro=tra pātraṁ śriva (yo) matv=etthaṁ khalu Śaṁbhur=iṁdum=analaṁ prīty= ottamāṁge dadhau ॥[1]

According to D.C. Sircar, who has edited this inscription, this verse suggests that Jayavarman II was regarded both as a *dauhitra* and a *pautra* with reference to his succession to the Paramāra throne.[2] This version of D.C. Sircar cannot, however, be taken as correct because it was not possible for a Paramāra prince to marry a Paramāra princess. The second line of the verse in fact states that Śaṁbhu (Śiva) kept with affection (*prīty*) (both) the moon (*chandra*) and fire (*agni*) on his forehead (in the form of *ardhachandra* and his third eye), because in their family (*kule*) would be born Jayasiṁha, the learned *dauhitra* (of the lunar family) and the *pautra* (of the family of *anala i.e.* fire). The verse thus poetically expresses Jayavarman II's relationship with *Chandravaṁśa* and *Agnivaṁśa*, implying thereby that Jayavarman II was the *pautra* of an *Agnivaṁśī* (*i.e.* a prince of the *Agnivaṁśī* Paramāras)[3] and a *dauhitra* of some *Chandravaṁśī* chief, perhaps of some Yādava prince of Devagiri.[4]

Hemādri's *Vratakhaṇḍaprāśasti* states that the ruler of Malwa was so much frightened by Mahādeva, the Yādava ruler of Devagiri (1261-71 A.D.) that he put a child on his throne and himself retired to practice austerities when he heard that Mahādeva did not use his sword against children and women.[5]

[1] *EI*, XXXII, p. 152, v. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[3] The Paramāras trace their origin from the *Agnikuṇḍa* at Mt. Abu. *Vide ante* Chap. II.

[4] The Yādavas trace their origin from the moon. Jayavarman II's mother might have been the daughter of a Yādava chief. The inter-marriages between the royal families were quite common.

[5] अयं शिशुस्त्रीशरणागतानां हन्ता महादेवनृपो न जातु ।
इत्थं विनिश्चित्य ततोतिभीतैरन्ध्रैः पुरल्भ्री निहिता नृपत्वे ॥१४॥
अत एव हि मालवेश्वरः शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।
स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपश्यति ॥१५॥ *BG*, I, pt. II, p. 274.

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If there is any truth in this statement it would mean that Jayavarman II who was the contemporary Paramāra ruler of Malwa, retired from his position as a king. But this could have been only a diplomatic and a temporary measure, for we find Jayavarman II ruling in his own right and with full imperial titles in 1274 A.D.,[1] that is long after the death of Yādava Mahādeva.

V. 54 of the Māndhātā plates refers to Jayavarman II's success against a king whose kingdom lay to the south of the Vindhyas.[2] This perhaps refers to Jayavarman II's struggle with the Yādava king Rāmachandra (1271-1309 A.D.), who according to his Thānā plates dated 1272 A.D., 'was a blast of the day of doom in extinguishing the lamps of the Mālavas'.[3]

Jayavarman II came into conflict with the Chāhamānas too. The Balvan inscription of Hammīra, dated 1284 A.D., states that his predecessor Jaitrasiṁha 'acting as a new sun scorched Jayasiṁha even when the latter was seated at Maṇḍapa',[4] *i.e.* Mandu. Jaitrasiṁha is also said to have captured at Jhampaithaghaṭṭa hundreds of the soldiers of the ruler of Malwa who were thereafter thrown into prison at Raṇastambhapura (Ranthambhor) and enslaved.[5]

The setback received by the Paramāras at Jhampaithaghaṭṭa,[6] however was no decisive reverse for the Paramāras. The Paramāras remained strong enough to fight against the Chāhamānas of Ranthambhor a few years later. It seems that the struggle between Malwa and Ranthambhor of this period was a continuation of the struggle initiated by Vāgbhaṭa, the predecessor of Jaitrasiṁha, who might have captured the north-western part of Malwa, when he slew Devapāla, the king of Malwa.[7] Vāgbhaṭa's successor, Jaitrasiṁha had hence to fight against the Paramāras either to consolidate his hold on the conquered territory or to carry further the policy of annexation.

1 *EI*, XXXII, pp. 139-56.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
3 *EI*, XIII, pp. 202-03.
4 *EI*, XIX, pp. 49-50, v. 7.
5 *Ibid.*
6 Jhampaithaghaṭṭa stands for Jhapait-*ghat* on the Chambal river, ten miles due south of the Railway station of Lakheri in Kota Bundi. Sharma, D., *op. cit.*; p. 105, fn. 20.
7 *Vide ante* Chap. IX.

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The Māndhātā plates mention the construction of temples and lakes by the orders of Jayavarman II's *Sādhanika* Anayasiṁha, who did so after procuring his master's permission.[1] Ajayadeva was the *Mahāpradhāna* of Jayavarman II.[2] His *Sāndhivigrahika* was Maladhara.[3] Ṭhakkura Nārāyaṇa was a famous poet of the times. He is called *Mahākavichakravartin* and the Atru (Kotah, Rajasthan) grant was made in his favour in 1257 A.D. by Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II.[4]

Jayavarman II's last known date is 10th August, 1274 A.D.[5] As his successor was on the throne in 1276 A.D.,[6] it seems that Jayavarman II closed his reign sometime between 1274 and 1276 A.D.

Arjunavarman II and *Bhoja II*

Arjunavarman II was a weak king. It was bad enough for Malwa to have so many enemies, it was still worse to have a weak king on the throne.

During his reign Yādava ruler Rāmachandra raided Malwa once again. The Udari stone inscription of Rāmachandra dated in the year 1276 A.D. (Śaka 1198), describes the latter as 'a lion in destroying the multitude of the rutting elephants of Arjuna, the king of Malwa'.[7]

Next followed the invasion of Hammīra, the Chauhān ruler of Ranthambhor, who succeeded Jaitrasiṁha in 1282 A.D.[8] He is said to have defeated Arjuna, the ruler of Malwa and wrested his glory by force, to have captured latter's elephant force and also a great deal of the wealth of Malwa.[9]

The Vaghelas from the west, too, could not resist the temptation of striking a blow at their tattering hereditary enemy. The Cintra inscription of Sāraṅgadeva states that

1 *EI*, XXXII, p. 152, v. 61.
2 *EI*, IX, p. 120.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 56, no. 2111.
5 *Cf.* Friday, *Maitra(Anuradha)nakṣatra, Bhādrapada-sudi* 7. V.S. 1331. *EI*, XXXII, p. 153, ll. 91-92.
6 See below p. 159, fn. 4.
7 *Annual Report Archaeological Survey*, Mysore, 1929, p. 143.
8 *HMK*, VII, vv. 53-56.
9 *EI*, IX, p. 50.

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Sāraṅgadeva (1275-95 A.D.) reduced the power of the king of Mālwa[1] with the help of one Vīśaladeva, who is described as the conqueror of the lord of Malwa and the Turuṣkas,[2] and Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha, who is mentioned as the conqueror of Malwa.[3] This Malwa king defeated by Sāraṅgadeva was Arjunavarman II and not Jayavarman II as supposed by H.C. Ray.[4]

Arjuna's own Chief Minister perhaps turned against him and thus increased the disorder in the country. The situation is thus described by the Muslim historian *Wassāf* who wrote his history *Taziyātul Aṁsār* in about 1300 A.D. :

'It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundations of this book that the king of Malwa died and dissension arose between his son and minister.[5] After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of a part of the country. In consequence of these disturbances, every year incursions are made into it from most parts of Hind, much property and wealth and captives, and fine linen (*kirābs*) being carried off, and as yet no change (for better) has taken place'.[6]

The powerful minister of Arjuna, who thus made himself master of a portion of Malwa was probably Goga or Kooka as he is called by the Muslim historians. Sāraṅgadeva Vaghela is said to have defeated one Goga.[7] A late inscription dated 1439 A.D. praises a Guhilot prince named Lakṣmasiṁha of Mewar, for having defeated Gogadeva, the king of Malwa.[8] Firishta states that when Āin-ul-Multānī was sent by Allā-ud-dīn Khaljī to reduce Malwa, 'he was opposed by Koka,

1 *EI*, I, p. 281, v. 13.

2 *Asiatic Researches*, XVI, p. 311 ; *IA*, XIV, p. 79, v. 42.

3 *IA*, XLV p. 79, v. 42 ; *vide infra* Chap. XI.

4 Jayavarman II would have closed his reign before 1276 A.D., for his successor Arjuna's defeat at the hands of Yādava Rāmachandra is recorded in the inscription dated 1276 A.D. See above p. 158, fn. 7.

5 The king of Malwa referred to here was Jayavarman II who died sometime between 1274 and 1276 A.D. and the dissension referred to between his son and minister is the dissension between Arjunavarman II and his minister.

6 *HIED*, III, p. 31.

7 *ASI*, 1935-36, p. 98 ; *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 214, ll. 12-13.

8 *NĪI*, no. 113 ; *ASI*, 1907-08, p. 214.

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the Rājā of Malwa with 40,000 Rajput horses and 10,000 foot'.[1] This Koka is evidently a mistranscription of Goga. Though Firishta calls Koka or Goga as the king of Malwa, Amīr Khusrau, the court-poet of Allāu-ud-dīn states that when Malwa was invaded by the Khaljī army, it was opposed by Rai Mahlak Deo of Malwa and Koka, his *Pradhāna*, who had under their command a select body of thirty or forty thousand cavalry.[2] Khusrau adds 'Koka, the Wazier commanded the army and he was stronger in the country than even the Rai'.[3] But they were defeated by the Muslims and the 'accursed Koka was slain, and his head was sent to the Sultan'.[4] It is possible that the faithless minister referred to by Wassāf was this Gogadeva, Goga or Koka who, at the time of the Khaljī invasion made a common cause with his sovereign and opposed the invaders. Firishta, who probably did not know the antecedents of Goga or Koka, was also not very far wrong in regarding Goga as the king of Malwa for he was at least a ruler *de facto* and exercised greater power than his *de jure* master.

The *Hammīramahākāvya* mentions Hammīra's victory over Arjuna, called therein the king of Sarasāpur and a ruler named Bhoja who is called the master of Dhārā.[5] It is not unlikely that Gogadeva might have put another scion of the Paramāra family, Bhoja II, on the throne of Dhārā and ruled himself in his name, while a part of Malwa still continued under the possession of Arjunavarman II.

A disorganised state, with internal dissensions to add to its weakness, could not naturally survive long as an independent entity. It is even to be wondered at that it retained its freedom as long as it did. The Hindu invaders of Malwa had not perhaps cared much to possess its territory as its wealth. They perhaps were aware that it was difficult to defend it against external aggressions. The Slave Sultans of Delhi had raided it more than once, but had gone back leaving its people to their troubles and their rulers. But the attitude changed with the coming of the imperialistic Khaljī dynasty. Its first ruler

1 *TF*, I, p. 361.
2 *HIED*, III, p. 76 ; *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ*, pp. 42 ff.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*
5 *HMK*, IX, p. 73, vv. 14-18.

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Jallāl-ud-dīn Khaljī captured Ujjain in 1291 A.D.[1] and invaded Malwa once again.[2] His successor Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī had by 1302 A.D. destroyed the independence of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor, the Guhilas of Mewar and the Vaghelas of Gujarat, bringing down to their knees even the distant and proud Yādavas of Devagiri.[3] He advanced against Malwa with a large army in 1305 A.D. and as stated above, defeated Koka or Goga and his master Mahlak Deo[4] with great slaughter. A little later the Khaljī general, Āin-ul-Mulk, captured Mandu and slew Mahlak Deo.[5] The king of Malwa is said to have

[1] *CHI*, III, p. 95 ; *HIED*, III, p. 148.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 169 ff.

[4] See above p. 160 fns. 1 and 2.

[5] Hazrat Amīr Khusrau describes the conquest of the whole of Malwa and the fort of Mandu in the following manner :

"... But on the southern frontier, Raja Mahlik Deo of Malwa and Kuka Pardhan had a permanent army of thirty or forty thousand chosen horsemen. The darkness of their (minds) and the dust raised by their legions had put the antimony of pride in their eyes .... Consequently, a body of select troops was sent by the Emperor against them who fell on those wanderers all of a sudden. Victory itself preceded them and had her eyes fixed upon the road to see when the triumphant army would arrive. When the army of Islam came upon the rebels, their eyes were closed and their backs were cut open with the blows of the sword. Streams of blood sank into the ground. So far as the human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood .... At this moment Kuka came 'like black earth in the mire'. In the twinkling of an eye he was pierced by innumerable arrows, and looked like a beehive with a thousand compartments, all full of bees .... His head was sent to the Imperial Court .... When Malwa, an extensive territory of which even clear-sighted geographers are unable to discover the limits, was conquered, Āin-ul-Mulk was appointed as the governor of Malwa by a royal *firmān* and was instructed to reduce the fort of Mandu where the cowardly Mahlik Deo had withdrawn. Āin-ul-Mulk cleared the country (Malwa) of the remaining evil doers ... the dark-faced Rai (Mahlik Deo) sent the light of his eye (*i.e.* his son) in front and placed round him an enormous multitude which only contributed to his fall .... Āin-ul-Mulk's troops fell upon them ... the Rai's son was slept the sleep of death ... a spy (*didbān*) came back from the fort and undertook to guide Āin-ul-Mulk .... In the course of the night Āin-ul-Mulk's army reached the summit and fell on Mahlik Deo with the impetuosity of a shooting star before even his household gods were aware of it ....

(*Contd. on next page*

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died in a siege according to the *Nābhinandana-Jinoddhāra-Prabandha* written in 1336 A.D.[1] A part of Malwa, however, continued even thereafter under the Paramāras. In 1309 A.D. one Jayasiṁha (III) ruled at Udayapura.[2] The complete conquest of the kingdom was affected during the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq.[3]

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Rai Mahlik Deo was burnt from head to foot in his battle with the shooting stars and fled to the stream of Sar, where he was slain. This event occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jamadiul Awwal, 705 A.H. The gate of the fort of Mandu was opened before them like the eye of the fortune". *Khazāin-ul-Futūḥ*, pp. 42 ff.

[1] ईशो मालवकस्यापि दुर्गस्थो बहुवासरान् ।
वन्दीव निन्ये तत्रैव मृतः पौरुषवर्जितः ॥ P. 104.

[2] *IA*, XX, p. 84.

[3] *TA*, I, pp. 217, 223.

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CHAPTER XI

OTHER PARAMĀRA DYNASTIES

Section I

THE PARAMĀRAS OF ABU

THE PARAMARAS of Abu stand next only to the Paramāras of Malwa in their political and cultural achievements and they ruled for almost the same period as their brethren in Malwa. None of them, however, appears to have aspired to imperial power, for they are not known to have used the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara*, which was so popular with the Paramāras of Malwa. They were either *Mahārājas* or *Mahārājādhirājas* which speak of their semi-independent position. They are often referred to in the annals of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat as their vassals. They had, for a long period, no independent foreign policy and did not naturally play the same prominent role as their brothers, the Paramāras of Malwa. But as Abu is admitted by all the Paramāras as the original habitat of the family, it is not unlikely that the Abu family represented the main family, though some of its off-shoots proved to be stronger and steadier and attained greater renown.

Their history, too, is rather obscure due to the paucity of material at our disposal. The first historical figure referred to in the inscriptions of this branch, is named as Sindhurāja,[1] who is merely referred to as the *Mahārāja* of Marumaṇḍala.[2] If the title has any significance, it would mean that besides being the master of Abu, he was also the ruler of some territory which is now included in the desert area of Jodhpur division of Rajasthan.

1 The Kirāḍū inscription of Someśvara, *IA*, LXI, pp. 135-36.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 136, v. 4.

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He was succeeded by Utpalarāja,[1] who is identified by D.C. Ganguly with Vākpati Muñja, the Paramāra ruler of Malwa, and who was also known by the name of Utpalarāja to his contemporaries. Further, taking this identification for granted, he has built up the ingenious theory that Vākpati II led his armies in the neighbourhood of Mt. Abu, conquered it and appointed his son Āraṇyarāja to look after the administration of the province of Arbudamaṇḍala.[2] But as already shown, Vākpatirāja II Utpalarāja ruled between 974 to 995 A.D.[3] and was a contemporary of Mūlarāja I Chaulukya, who is said to have deprived Dharaṇīvarāha the ruler of Abu of his kingdom.[4] This Dharaṇīvarāha was a great grandson of Utpalarāja of the Abu line.[5] Contemporaneousness of the two Utpalas being thus absolutely impossible, we have naturally to reject D.C. Ganguly's view that Āraṇyarāja was a son of Vākpati II, stationed at Abu after its conquest by the Paramāras of Malwa[6] and that Vākpati II established new Paramāra settlements.[7]

Utpalarāja was succeeded by his son Āraṇyarāja[8] and Āraṇyarāja by his son Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja who is said to have been the very image of his father.[9] The Varkāṇā inscription, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Mahāvīra at Varkāṇā (Jodhpur), has been attributed to this prince. It is dated the 6th

[1] Most of the Paramāra inscriptions of Abu mention Utpalarāja as the first chief of this family. On the basis of this historians like Ganguly think that Utpalarāja was the first ruling prince of this family. The Kirāḍū inscription, however, takes back the genealogy of this family by one generation and makes Sindhurāja, the predecessor of Utpalarāja, as the first ruling chief of this family. *Vide ante* Chap. V.

[2] *GHP*, pp. 22, 298.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

[4] *EI*, X, p. 20, vv. 9-10.

[5] See App. II for the genealogical list.

[6] The Paramāras of Abu till then (*i.e.* up to the time of Utpalarāja) were quite independent from any obligation whatsoever as far as the Paramāras of Malwa were concerned who at that time were quite busy in stabilizing their hold in Malwa. *Vide ante* Chap. IV.

[7] For a detailed discussion on the identification of the two Utpalas, see Chap. V and our paper in the *IHQ*, 1958, pp. 174-76.

[8] His name and that of his successor have been peeled off in the Kirāḍū inscription, but they have been referred to in a number of Paramāra inscriptions, *i.e.* the Abu ins., *EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 2.

[9] *Ibid.*

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day of the bright half of Aśāḍha, Saṁvat 1024=16th June 967 A.D. and records that during the reign of Kṛṣṇarāja, the image was set up by one Vardhamāna of the Veṣṭika family and the architect was Narāditya.[1] This is the earliest known inscription of this family. According to Hemachandra, a Paramāra *rājā* of Mt. Abu helped Mūlarāja Chaulukya (*c.* 942-97 A.D.) in his campaign against Gṛharipu, the ruler of Saurāṣṭra.[2] If this statement be true, it was perhaps this Kṛṣṇarāja or one of his successors who assisted Mūlarāja Chaulukya.

Dharaṇīvarāha : c. 967-97A.D.

According to the Abu inscription Kṛṣṇarāja was succeeded by Dharaṇīvarāha.[3] He is mentioned also in the Kirāḍū inscription, dated 1161 A.D.[4] The bardic chronicles of Marwar state that he made himself master of the Navkoṭ Marwar which he afterwards divided among his nine brothers. A *Chhappaya* (which is known in bardic chronicles all over Rajasthan) describes that Dharaṇīvarāha gave Maṇḍovar to one brother, Ajmer to the second, Gaḍ Pūgal to the third named Siddhasuva, Laudrava to the fourth named Gajamalla, Arbuda to Bhāṇabhuva the fifth brother, Jālandhara to the sixth named Bhojarājā, Dharadhāra to the seventh brother Jogarājā, Hānsū to the eighth and Kirāḍū to the ninth.[5] There is only a small percentage of historical truth in this *Chhappaya* but even that slight percentage seems to have been enough to start a tradition.

The Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī informs us that Dhavala gave asylum to Dharaṇīvarāha, who was deprived of his kingdom by Mūlarāja.[6] Perhaps Dharaṇīvarāha Paramāra

1 *ASI,* 1935-36, p. 122.
2 *DV,* V, v. 37 ; *Rās Mālā,* p. 59.
3 *EI,* XXXII, p. 137, v. 3.
4 *IA,* LXI, pp. 135-36.
5 The *Chhappaya Chhanda* runs thus :
मंडोवर १ सांमत हुवो अजमेर २ सिद्धसुव ।
गढ़पूगल ३ गजमल्ल हुवौ लौद्रवै ४ भाणभुव ॥
अल्हपल्ह अरवद्ध ५ भोजराजा जालंधर ६ ।
जोगराजा धरधार ७ हुवौ हांसू पारवकर ८ ॥
नवकोट किराडू ९ संजुगत । थर पंवारहार थप्पिया ।
धरणीवराहधर कोट वांट जू जू दिया ॥ *EI,* XXII, p. 197.
6 *EI,* X, p. 21, v. 12.

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and Mūlarāja Chaulukya clashed because of their ambition to extend their territories, though Dharaṇīvarāha's father Kṛṣṇarāja had been an ally of Mūlarāja I. Dharaṇīvarāha was worsted and had to seek refuge at the court of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī. As Dharaṇīvarāha must have ascended the throne sometime after 967 A.D.,[1] and the Bijapur inscription which refers to his defeat at the hands of the Chaulukya monarch is dated in 997 A.D., this incident must have taken place sometime between these two years. It had probably also some other political consequences. Deprived of their ancestral possession, even though temporarily, Dharaṇīvarāha's descendants perhaps tried to seek their fortunes elsewhere. It was thus that one of his descendants established himself at Jalor.[2]

Dhūrbhaṭa and *Mahīpāla alias Devarāja*

The Abu inscription mentions *Śrī* Dhūrbhaṭa and Mahīpāla as the two sons of Dharṇīvarāha who ruled successively after the demise of their father.[3] The Kirāḍū inscription mentions Devarāja as the successor of Dharaṇīvarāha,[4] and the later inscriptions of the Chandrāvatī Paramāras mention Mahīpāla alone as the successor of Dharaṇīvarāha.[5] Mahīpāla is referred to in the Abu inscription as the son of Dharaṇīvarāha, the father of Dhandhūka and the grandfather of Kṛṣṇarāja[6]; and Devarāja is mentioned as the father of Dhandhūka and grandfather of Kṛṣṇarāja in the Kirāḍū inscription.[7] It seems best to

1 This is the date for his predecessor Kṛṣṇarāja. See above p. 165, fn. 1.

2 See below our account on the Paramāras of Jalor.

3 श्रीधरणीवराहोभूत्प्रभुर्भूमेस्ततंगजः । श्रीधूर्भटमहीपालौ
तत्सुनौ (तौ) दधतुर्महीं (हीम्) ॥३॥ *EI*, XXXII, p. 137.
Dr. Ojha's surmise that Dhūrbhaṭa and Mahīpāla are the two names of one and the same person (*RKI*, p. 193), is wrong. The above mentioned verse states clearly that Dhūrbhaṭa and Mahīpāla were two sons of Dharaṇīvarāha.

4 सिंधुराजधरा—
धारधरणीधरधामवान् (मा) . . .
(॥८॥) (देवरा)जोभवत्तस्मात्
सुरराजो हराह्वया । देवराजेश्वर . . . . (॥९॥) *IA*, LXI, p. 136.

5 *EI*, IX, p. 13.

6 *EI*, XXXII, p. 137.

7 *IA*, LXI, p. 136.

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identify these two princes. Probably after the death of Dharaṇīvarāha the kingdom passed first to Dhūrbhaṭa and then to Mahīpāla *alias* Devarāja for whom we have an inscription from Ropi, dated 1002 A.D.[1]

The Ropi inscription states that *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī* Devarāja granted a field situated to the south of the city-wall (*koṭṭa*) of *Śrī-māla* (modern Bhinmāl) while residing there, to one Aurakāchārya, a son of Chaṇḍaśivāchārya and the head of the temple of Siddheśvaramahādeva at Khmemathuna (Kṣatmamathuka?), on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.[2] The witnesses were Mahāvāka, the preceptor of Devarāja and Pūrṇachanda. The grant was written by Sūryaravi, the son of Nyāsa.[3] Devarāja built a temple known as Devarājeśvara.[4] Mahīpāla *alias* Devarāja was succeeded by his son Dhandhūka sometime after 1002 A.D.

Dhandhūka : c. 1010-40 A.D.

Mahīpāla's son and successor, Dhandhūka must have been an important chief of this branch in as much as his name is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions of the Paramāras of Abu, as well as of Kirāḍū, though we have not so far come across any inscription of his own.

According to the Kirāḍū inscription Dhandhūka ruled over Marumaṇḍala through the favour of Durlabharāja[5] who was the Chaulukya ruler of that name and who ruled between 1010-21 A.D.[6] Thus early in his career, Dhandhūka seems to have accepted the Chaulukya suzerainty and perhaps with the Chaulukya help was able to drive away all his enemies from his *maṇḍala*.[7] As to who these enemies were, we cannot be sure, for there were so many of ambitious Rajput princes and princelings, during this period, all of them eager to increase their power at the cost of their neighbours. But later on, in the reign of

1 *EI*, XXII, pp. 196-98.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *IA*, LXI, p. 136.
5 *Ibid.*
6 Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 39.
7 श्रीध(धं)धूका(कौ) धराधीशौ महीपालतनूद्भवः (वः) ।
निः सार्यं वैरिवर्गं यश्चक्रे राज्यं [स्वमं]डरं ॥ *EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 4.

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Bhīmadeva I Chaulukya, Dhandhūka decided to quit his kingdom and seek refuge with Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa, instead of agreeing to the exacting demands of his new sovereign.[1] It was a clever move, for Bhīma disliking any increase in Bhoja's power won Dhandhūka over to his side, probably by making some concessions.[2]

Dhandhūka must have closed his reign sometime before 1042 A.D. which is the earliest known date of his successor. He had three sons *viz*, Pūrṇapāla, Dantivarman and Kṛṣṇadeva, who ruled one after the other.[3]

Pūrṇapāla : 1042-45 A.D.

Relations between the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras of Abu seem to have been strained again in the reign of Pūrṇapāla, who is said to have reigned over Arbudamaṇḍala after defeating the enemy, which may perhaps mean his Chaulukya overlord who may have been defeated with the help of Bhojadeva of Dhārā.[4] According to his Vasantgarh inscription Pūrṇapāla was ruling over Marumaṇḍala as its *Mahārājādhirāja* in 1042 A.D.[5] For Pūrṇapāla we have the following inscriptions :

The Vasantgarh inscription, dated 1042 A.D.[6] Its object is to record that queen Lāhinī, a younger sister of Pūrṇapāla and widow of king Vigraharāja of Vaṭa (Vaṭanagara or Vaṭapura=Vasantgarh) restored an ancient temple of the Sun god and founded a tank (Vāpī), apparently the same where the record was discovered. The inscription was composed by the Brāhmaṇa Mātriśarman, the son of Hari and was engraved

[1] The Vimalavasāhi inscription of Abu tells us that Dhandhūka, not agreeing to serve Bhīma, left the Chaulukya court and went away to Paramāra Bhoja when the latter was residing at Chitrakūṭa. Vimala was appointed as the Daṇḍapati of Arbudamaṇḍala by Bhīma I, sometime before 1031 A.D. *EI*, IX, p. 148 ; *vide ante* Chap. VI.

[2] We are told that Vimala by his good offices restored cordial relations between Dhandhūka and Bhīma I. *Ibid.*

[3] तत्सुतः (*i.e.* Dhandhūka's)

पूर्णपालोभूद्दंतिवर्मा द्वितीयकः । तृतीयः कृष्णदेवोभूद्राज्यं
चक्रुः कत्रेण ते ॥ *EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 5.

[4] *Vide ante* Chap. VI.

[5] *EI*, IX, pp. 10-15.

[6] *Ibid.*

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by Śivapāla, the son of Sūtradhāra Deuka, who was the son of Durga, the son of *Sthapati* Nāga.[1]

The Varman (Sirohi State) inscription, dated 1042 A.D. It records that in V.S. 1099, Jyeṣṭha Sudi 30=Wednesday, June 14th 1042 A.D., Noohaka, son of Sorama, repaired the temple of Śiva.[2]

The Bhaḍund inscription, dated 1045 A.D.[3] It was issued when a step-well was constructed by various *gotras* of Brāhmaṇas who made it over to the people of Bhaḍund.[4]

Pūrṇapāla seems to have ruled over a pretty extensive territory extending at least from Vasantgarh to Bhaḍund. He perhaps died without any male issue and was therefore succeeded by his brother Dantivarman sometime after 1045 A.D.

Dantivarman : c. 1045-60 A.D.

Dantivarman's reign seems to be neither very long nor politically eventful. He was succeeded not by his son,[5] but by his brother Kṛṣṇadeva (II) sometime before 1060 A.D.[6]

Kṛṣṇadeva II : 1060-66 A.D.

Kṛṣṇadeva II did not start his political career at an auspicious moment, for with the death of Paramāra Bhoja in 1055 A.D., the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī had lost one of their staunch supporters against the Chaulukya vandalism. Bhīma I, the Chaulukya ruler, took advantage of such a situation. He raised his sword once again against the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī, attacked Kṛṣṇadeva II, defeated him and put him in his prison. Kṛṣṇadeva II was, however, set free by the efforts of the

[1] *EI*, IX, pp. 10-15.
[2] *PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, p. 72.
[3] *JBBRAS*, XXIII, pp. 75-80.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] That Dantivarman had a son is proved by the Abu *praśasti* (*EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 6). It appears that either in the time of Dantivarman or after his death, there was a dispute for succession in which Kṛṣṇarāja, the younger brother of Dantivarman emerged out victorious. Thus Dantivarman's son and grandson, *i.e.* Yogarāja and Rāmadeva respectively were deprived of their right of succession.
[6] The date of the Bhinmāl inscription of Kṛṣṇadeva II. *BG*, I, pt. I, pp. 472-73.

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Chāhamāna ruler Balaprasāda whose request was acceded to by Bhīmadeva of Gujarat.[1]

Kṛṣṇadeva II had two sons *viz*, Kākaladeva[2] and Sochchharāja,[3] the latter was perhaps appointed by Kṛṣṇarāja himself to rule over Bhinmāl Kirāḍū area, while Kākaladeva succeeded him in Abu. Sochchharāja seems to have made himself independent of the chiefs of Chandrāvatī in due course and thus became the founder of the Kirāḍū branch of the Paramāras.[4]

Kākaladeva and *Vikramasiṁha*

Kākaladeva succeeded his father Kṛṣṇarāja II in Abu, sometime after 1066 A.D., and was in his turn succeeded by his son Vikramasiṁha, who was the contemporary of

[1] भीम क्ष्माभृच्चरणयुगली-मर्दन-व्याजतो यः
कुर्वन् पीड़ामतिवलतयामोचयामास कारा-
गाराद् भूमिपतिमपि कृष्णदेवाभिधानम्। Sūndhā Hill ins., *EI*, IX, p. 76,v. 18.

[2] राजा काकलदे(वो*) येत् (यः) कृष्णदेवतनूद्भवः। v. 6 of the Abu ins. *EI*, XXXII, p. 137.

[3] (कृष्ण) राजो महा—
शब्द विभूषितः॥ तत्पुत्रः सोच्छराजाख्यः . . . . v. 14 of the Kirāḍū ins. *IA*, LXI, p. 136.

[4] For the history of this branch see below our section on the Paramāras of Kirāḍū.

D.C. Ganguly thinks that Kṛṣṇarāja of Chandrāvatī was different from Kṛṣṇadeva of Kirāḍū. He has based his contention on the fact that Kṛṣṇadeva of the Bhinmāl and Kirāḍū inscriptions, is mentioned as the grandson of Devarāja, while Kṛṣṇarāja the brother of Pūrṇapāla of Chandrāvatī is referred to as a grandson of Mahīpāla. (*GHP*, pp. 344-45). But we do not see why Ganguly should care only for the difference of the names of grandfathers and overlook the identity of the names of fathers of both the Kṛṣṇarājas. The father of Kṛṣṇarāja is Dhandhūka in the inscriptions of the Paramāras of Abu, Bhinmāl as well as Kirāḍū. As to the grandfather of Kṛṣṇarāja having more than one name, we have several instances of one and the same prince, bearing more than one name. Even Chandragupta II, it may be remembered, was known also as Devarāja and is mentioned as such in his inscriptions. That Kṛṣṇarāja of the Abu inscription is the same as Kṛṣṇarāja of the Kirāḍū and Bhinmāl inscriptions can further be proved by the nearness of the dates of Pūrṇapāla (1042-45 A.D.), who was the eldest brother and the immediate successor of Dhandhūka, to those of Kṛṣṇarāja (1060-66 A.D.), who was the third brother and who succeeded Pūrṇapāla after the intervention of Dantivarman.

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Kumārapāla Chaulukya and Arṇorāja Chāhamāna.[1] According to the *Dvyaśrayamahākāvya* Vikramasiṁha was with Kumārapāla Chaulukya as one of his feudatory chiefs when the latter attacked Arṇorāja Chāhamāna.[2] But Jinamaṇḍana says that Vikrama, at the time of the actual struggle between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja, went over to the side of Arṇorāja.[3] The *Hemachandrasūricharita* in a way reconciles the two statements by stating that though Vikramasiṁha, the king of Abu, did all that he could to entertain the Gujarātī soldiers on their way to Sapādalakṣa, he lost his kingdom due to being suspected of treason against Kumārapāla.[4] Vikramasiṁha was perhaps deposed and replaced by Yaśodhavala, a son of Rāmadeva and the grandson of Dantivarman.[5] Thus the Chandrāvatī kingdom passed on to the descendants of Dantivarman sometime before 1145 A.D., in which year Yaśodhavala issued his Ajārī grant.[6] That Yaśodhavala, the son of Rāmadeva became the king of Chandrāvatī after Vikramasiṁha is evidenced also by the Abu inscription.[7] Dantivarman's son Yogarāja and Yogarāja's son, Rāmadeva had been, we might remember, deprived of their patrimony by Vikramasiṁha's grandfather Kṛṣṇarāja II.[8]

1 Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

2 *DV*, XVI, vv. 33-34.

3 *Kumārapālaprabandha*, pp. 40-42.

4 *Prabhāvakacharita*, *Hemachandrasūricharita*.

5 According to the chronicles when Kumārapāla halted at Abu on his way to Sapādalakṣa, Vikramasiṁha attempted to murder Kumārapāla whom he considered to be an usurper. With this end in view he constructed a *Vāhinīyantra* and invited Kumārapāla to visit his palace and dine there. Kumārapāla refused this offer but sent others. One of the Chaulukya officers came across the *Vāhinīyantra* and on his return reported to Kumārapāla that Vikramasiṁha contemplated treachery. At that time Kumārapāla, however, was busy with Arṇorāja, so he left Abu in peace. But after Arṇorāja was defeated Kumārapāla again came to Abu, arrested Vikramasiṁha and in his place set up Yaśodhavala, the son of Rāmadeva and nephew of Vikramasiṁha on the throne of Abu. Vikramasiṁha was brought to Aṇhilapattaṇa and thrown into the prison. *PK*, p. 52 ; *Kumārapālaprabandha*, pp. 40-42 ; *KBCh*, IV, vv. 231-62, 435-53.

6 *IA*, LVI, p. 12.

7 जातः काकलदेवांगाद्विक्रमसिंहः क्षमाधिपः ।
रामदेवतनोर्जातः श्रीयशोध[व]लो नृपः ॥ *EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 8.

8 See above p. 169, fn. 5.

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Yaśodhavala : 1145-63 A.D.

Yaśodhavala ruled at Abu as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* of Kumārapāla Chaulukya. Being a brave soldier he helped his master in his campaigns against Malwa. He crushed in battle Ballāla, the king of Malwa,[1] when he learnt that the latter had become hostile to Kumārapāla, the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat.[2]

We have two inscriptions for Yaśodhavala :

The Ajārī inscription dated 1145 A.D.[3] It records a grant made at the village Ajārī by the queen Saubhāgyadevī of the Chaulukya family (of Gujarat), during the prosperous reign of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Yaśodhavala.[4]

The Achaleśvara temple Mt. Abu inscription dated 1150 A.D., referred to by Kielhorn.[5]

Yaśodhavala had two sons, Dhārāvarṣa and Prahlādana. The former succeeded him a little before 1163 A.D. which is the first known date for Dhārāvarṣa, the most famous prince of this branch.

Dhārāvarṣa : 1163-1219 A.D.

Dhārāvarṣa's reign was the most illustrious in the history of the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī. 'He was an ornament', says the Abu *praśasti*, 'of the Paramāra family and was the foremost among the kings. He was well-versed in the *śāstras* and clever in the use of weapons. He was a man of dominating personality and the influence of his virtuous life on his subjects, whom he had won over by love, was considerable'.[6] The *Pārthāparākrama* describes him as having amazed the whole of India with his valour.[7]

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
[2] *EI*, VIII, p. 210, v. 35 ; *EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 8.
[3] *IA*, LVI, p. 12.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *EI*, IX, p. 149.
[6] तत्सूनुः परमारवंशतिलकः क्षोणीभु-
जामग्रणीः शास्त्रास्त्रादिकलाकलापकुशलो लप्धा (ब्धा)-
नुरागो जने । श्रीमानर्बु(र्बु)दभूमिमंडलपतिः प्रौढप्रतापाक्ति(क्ति)-
तो धारावर्षनरेश्वरोभवदसौ पुण्यप्रभावोत्कटः ॥ *EI*, XXXII, p. 137, v. 9.
[7] तदेतदतुलपराक्रमचमत्कारिताखिलभारतस्य श्रीधारावर्षस्य पर्षदा प्रहितं पत्रिकम् । *Pārthāparākrama*, p. 2.

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He was renowned for his skill in archery.[1] According to the Paṭanārāyaṇa *praśasti*, Dhārāvarṣa could pierce with one arrow three buffaloes standing in line.[2] This fact is corroborated by a stone sculpture of Dhārāvarṣa, found on the northern embankment of the Mandākinīkuṇḍa outside the Achaleśvara temple of Abu. It shows Dhārāvarṣa taking aim with an arrow fixed on the string of a fully stretched bow. In front stand three life size figures of buffaloes with a hole across the belly of each, all the three holes being carved in a straight line.[3] For Dhārāvarṣa we have a number of inscriptions ranging from 1163 A.D. to 1219 A.D.,[4] which prove that Dhārāvarṣa ruled at

[1] v. 37 of the Abu inscription. *EI*, VIII, p. 211.

[2] *IA*, XLV, p. 78.

[3] *Muni Jinavijaya, The Holy Abu*, p. 165.

[4] (i) The Kayadrān inscription of V.S. 1220=1163 A.D. It records that *Māhārājādhirāja Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, the illustrious Dhārāvarṣadeva granted a *śāsana* probably for the remission of taxes on Fulhali (a village) belonging to Bhaṭṭāraka Deveśvara of the temple of Kaśeśvara. The royal order was executed by prince Prahlādana. *IA*, LVI, p. 51.

(ii) The Piṇḍwārā inscription dated V.S. 1233=1176 A.D. Fragmentary and unpublished.

(iii) The Hāthal inscription of V.S. 1237=1180 A.D. It records that in the victorious reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the lord of Arbuda, the minister Kovidaśa, on the occasion of *Devotthāna Ekādaśi* day, granted land in Sāhilavāda to Bhaṭṭārākā Viśāla Ugradamaka, a teacher of *Śaivadharma*. *IA*, XLIII, pp. 193-94.

(iv) The Ajārī inscription of V.S. 1240=1183 A.D. It records that in the victorious reign of king Dhārāvarṣa of Chandrāvatī, the wife of prince Prahlādana granted a certain piece of land to Arhaṭa Jogadeva, while she was residing in the village of Ajaharī, the modern Ajārī. *Pārthāparākrama*, App. II.

(v) The Madhūsūdana temple inscription at Muṅgthalā dated V.S. 1245=1188 A.D. Besides the name and the date, this inscription does not give any other information. *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 209.

(vi) The Ajārī inscription dated V.S. 1247=1190 A.D. *SRKI*, p. 28.

(vii) The Bāmanvārjī inscription dated V.S. 1249=1192 A.D. Except the date the rest of the inscription cannot be made out. Unpublished.

(viii) The unpublished Jhāḍolī inscription of V.S. 1255=1198 A.D. It records that some orchard land was granted to the temple of Śāntinātha by Śṛṅgāradevī, the queen of Dhārāvarṣa.

(ix) The Piṇḍwārā inscription dated V.S. 1256=1199 A.D. Unpublished and fragmentary.

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least for fifty six years and his reign was the longest in the annals of the Paramāras of Abu. He was a contemporary of four Chaulukya rulers *viz*, Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla, Mūlarāja II and Bhīmadeva II.

Early in his reign, Dhārāvarṣa, apparently as the feudatory of Kumārapāla, came in conflict with the armies of Malwa. The Abu *praśasti* tells us that he put to rout the brave soldiers of Malwa with a volley of his arrows on the banks of river Parṇā. While he was away on this expedition Vikramasiṁha's son Raṇasiṁha captured Abu.[1] An inscription, dated V.S. 1223=1166 A.D. from Sirohi, describes Raṇasiṁha as the king of Chanda(Palli) *i.e.* Chandrāvatī,[2] the capital of the Paramāra kingdom of Abu and records some grants of *arhaṭṭas* and *drammas* made to the god Kākaleśvara[3] in Ajārī by the *Pañcha* (*Pañchakula*) consisting of Jagaddeva and others.[4]

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(x) The Mt. Abu inscription dated V.S. 1265=1208 A.D. At that time *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣa was ruling over Arbudamaṇḍala under the overlordship of Chaulukya Bhīma II. Prince Prahlādana is described as a Yuvarāja. *IA*, XI, pp. 220-30.

(xi) The Roheḍa inscription dated V.S. 1271=1214 A.D., discovered from the local Sun temple. It records that *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarṣa granted one *halavāha* of land in the village of Savadavṛddha to a merchant named Aupa. *IA*, LVI, p. 51.

(xii) The Kāṇṭala inscription dated V.S. 1274=1217 A.D. *SRKI*, p. 27.

(xiii) The Makāval inscription dated V.S. 1276=1219 A.D. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

(xiv) The Fragmentary and undated inscription from Roheḍa. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[1] पर्णातटे मालविकप्रवीरान् परान्तु (ङ्मु) रवान् यः कृतवान् श [रौ] घेः (घैः)।
चोर्णी पिन (तु) र्विक्रमभिं (सिं) हभू(सू.) नुले(लें) ले (भे) ल्तरा श्रीरणसिंहदेवः॥
EI, XXXII, pp. 137-38, v. 10.

[2] *PRAS, WC*, 1910-11, p. 39.

[3] The Kākaleśvara temple might have been built by Kākaladeva, the grandfather of Raṇasiṁha, and the son of Kṛṣṇarāja II.

[4] In this inscription Raṇasiṁha is called *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* and he is also styled as *Rājakula*. Dr. Bhandarkar, on the basis of this epithet *Rājakula*, has identified Raṇasiṁha with Rāval Raṇasiṁhadeva of the Guhilot dynasty (*PRAS, WC*, 1910-11, p. 39). But he himself has at some other place surmised that the title *Rājakula* or *Rāval* was used by a number of families *i.e.* Guhilots, Chāhamānas and Paramāras etc. He also says that till then the title *Rājakula* or *Rāval* had not become political but was rather religious (*PRAS, WC*, 1909-10, p. 52).

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Dhārāvarṣa however got back his kingdom with the help of Kumārapāla Chaulukya. 'Having pleased his master', we are told by the Abu inscription, 'by means of his wisdom, devotion and valour, Dhārāvarṣa got back his own kingdom through his (*i.e.* his master Kumārapāla's) favour'.[1]

Dhārāvarṣa seems to have come into conflict with the lord of Koṅkaṇa. We are told by the Neminātha Mt. Abu inscription that, 'the wives of the lord of Koṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes when Dhārāvarṣa inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battle-field'.[2] A fragmentary inscription from Ḍholaka also praises Dhārāvarṣa along with other chiefs of the Chaulukyan overlord perhaps Kumārapāla, for having taken part in a campaign against Malikārjuna the king of Koṅkaṇa.[3] Dhārāvarṣa may have fought with the lord of Koṅkaṇa on behalf of his overlord Kumārapāla Chaulukya, who is credited by the Gujarat chronicles with the defeat of Malikārjuna, the king of Koṅkaṇa.[4]

With the death of Kumārapāla, the Chaulukya power started declining[5] and during the weak rule of his successors Ajayapāla and Bālamūlarāja, the Chaulukya feudatories started becoming independent. Sāmantasiṁha, the Guhila chief of Mewar, attacked the Gurjara territory and wounded Ajayapāla,[6] but the latter's prestige was saved by the timely assistance rendered by Prahlādana, the younger brother and Yuvarāja of Dhārāvarṣa.[7]

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So on the basis of the title *Rājakula* used by Raṇasiṁha we cannot say that he belonged to the Guhilot family. As we shall see below Somasiṁha, the son of Dhārāvarṣa also assumed the title *Rājakula*. Hence the identification proposed by Bhandarkar is not acceptable to us. Not only this as we have already seen the Abu inscription makes it clear beyond any doubt that Raṇasiṁha the son of Vikramasiṁha did occupy the throne of Chandrāvatī. See above p. 174, fn. 1.

[1] प्रसाद्य स प्व(प्र)भोः पारा(दा)न्
वु(वु)द्धिभक्तिपराक्रमैः । तत्प्रसादा[ऽपु]नः
प्रापधाराव [पों] निजां महीं (हीम्) ॥ *EI*, XXXII, p. 138, v. 11.

[2] *EI*, VIII, p. 211, v. 36.

[3] *EI*, XXXV, p. 91.

[4] *Pc*, pp. 122-23 ; *BG*, I, pt. I, pp. 185-86 ; *KK*, II, vv. 47-48 ; *SK*, II, v. 43.

[5] *Vide ante* Chap. IX.

[6] *Surāthotsava*, XV, v. 32 ; *IA*, LIII, pp. 100-02.

[7] *EI*, VIII, p. 211, v. 38.

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The next important event of the reign of Dhārāvarṣa was his struggle with the Muslim invaders of Gujarat in 1178 A.D. Marching by way of Multan, Uchchha,[1] and Kirāḍū,[2] the Muslims under the leadership of Muhammad Ghorī, captured Nāḍol, the capital of Kelhaṇa Chauhān.[3] On reaching near the foot of Mt. Abu, the Muslim armies found themselves opposed by the joint forces of Dhārāvarṣa, Kelhaṇa the ruler of Nāḍol, and his brother Kīrtipāla.[4] The Sūndhā Hill inscription puts the scene of the battle at Kāṣahṛda,[5] the modern Kayadrān of the Sirohi state,[6] from where we have an inscription of Dhārāvarṣa, dated 1163 A.D.[7] According to the *Prabandhakośa*, Dhārāvarṣa let the Muslims advance unmolested into the pass, and then closed upon from the rear, and in the front the Muslims were attacked by the Gurjaras.[8] A large number of Muslim soldiers were killed and those who survived had to suffer extreme hardships on their way back to Ghaznī. Their leader Muhammad Ghorī was wounded.[9] This victory won by the Paramāras of Abu, while assisting their Chaulukya overlord, was decisive as it kept away the Muslims from Gujarat for nearly thirteen years.

The *Pārthāparākrama* of Prahlādana gives Dhārāvarṣa the credit of having repelled a nocturnal attack of the king of

[1] *TA*, I, p. 36.

[2] *PV*, p. 256.

[3] *HIED*, II, p. 294 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[4] The Sūndhā Hill inscription credits these brothers with having crushed the power of the Turuṣkas. *EI*, IX, p. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*, v. 36.

[6] Kayadrān is a village about four miles from the Kivarli station on the Western Railway.

[7] See p. 173, fn, 4 (i),

[8] *PK*, p. 117.

The *PK* puts this incident in the reign of Vīradhavala Vaghela. D.C Ganguly thinks that the defeat of Muhammad Ghorī at Kayadrān and the one referred to in the *PK*, were two different events, the latter he puts in the time of Iltutmish. (*GHP*, pp. 313-14).

There is, however, no sufficient evidence to prove a battle near Abu between Vīradhavala and Iltutmish. It seems more likely that the armies of Iltutmish were defeated by Jayasiṁha, the ruler of Mewar and they could never come beyond Nāgahṛda, the capital of Mewar (*Nāgarī Pracharinī Patrikā*, III, pp. 123-24). Not only this all the Muslim historians are silent about Iltutmish's invasion of Gujarat. It seems that the *PK* is actually relating the incidents as they happened in 1178 A.D., but it has, by mistake, put them in the reign of Vīradhavala.

[9] *TF*, I, p. 170 ; *TN*, I, p, 516.

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Jaṅgalas[1] *i.e.* Pṛthvīrāja III of Śākambharī. It seems that Pṛthvīrāja III of Śākambharī, during the course of his war against Gujarat led his night attack against Dhārāvarṣa, a loyal feudatory of Gujarat, but was defeated.

So far Dhārāvarṣa had been a loyal feudatory of the Chaulukyas. But during the weak rule of Bhīma II, when he found many of his friends aggrandising themselves at the cost of the declining kingdom of Gujarat, Dhārāvarṣa too could not forbear the temptation of being independent. His efforts, however, were frustrated by Arṇorāja Vaghela, who came to the rescue of the Gujarat sovereign. Dhārāvarṣa might have been defeated, for the *Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī* of Jayasiṁha relates that Arṇorāja broke down the power of the lords of Meḍapāṭa (Mewar) and Chandrāvatī.[2]

Dhārāvarṣa, probably, suffered also at the hands of the Chāhamānas of Nāḍol. The Pāladī inscription of *Śrī* Kelhaṇadeva, dated 1193 A.D., refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī* Kelhaṇadeva and his son Jayatsīdeva,[3] and also mentions the latter's chief-minister Villahaṇa and another person Rājadeva, son of *Su(Bhu?)madeva.* The name of *Yuvarāja* Jayatsīdeva is mentioned in the record along with that of his father. 'It is possible', says Bhandarkar, 'that the *Yuvarāja* had been enjoying the country around Pāladī as his Bhukti'.[4] If this be so, the real importance of the inscription for us would lie in the conclusion deducible from it that in the year 1193 A.D., that is even before the end of the 12th century, the Chāhamānas had penetrated into the kingdom of the Paramāras as far as Pāladī which was not more than forty miles, as a crow flies, from Chandrāvatī, the capital of Dhārāvarṣa.

In the year 1197 A.D. Muhammad Ghorī's successor Qutb-ud-dīn-Āibak resumed the conquest of western India.[5] Proceeding from Ajmer, 'he captured the forts of Pālī (*i.e.* Bālī)

[1] *Pārthaparākrama,* p. 3.

[2] *SKK,* p. 78, v. 75.

[3] *PRAS, WC,* 1916-17, p. 65.

G.H. Ojha gives the date of the inscription as V.S. 1239=1183 A.D., but according to S.K. Pillai it is wrong. The details are correct only for V.S. 1249=1193 A.D.

[4] *PRAS, WC,* 1916-17, p. 65.

[5] *Tāj-ul-Ma'asir, HIED,* II, pp. 229-30.

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and Nandul (*i.e.* Nāḍol) ; but he too, like his predecessor found the Hindus collected under their leader Rai Karan and Dārābaras, in great numbers, at the foot of Mt. Abu, who at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter'.[1] This time the Muslims gained a victory though the Hindus fought as bravely as before.[2] Rai Karan escaped and Aṇahilapattaṇa fell into the hands of the Muslims. Dhārāvarṣa obviously must have shared in the defeat of the Hindus. But it did not mean the end of the kingdom of Chandrāvatī. Inscriptional evidence shows that Dhārāvarṣa continued to rule over his territory even after 1197 A.D. Similarly the Chaulukyas and Vaghelas continued in Gujarat.

Dhārāvarṣa perhaps was one of the Marwar chiefs who rebelled against the authority of Gujarat when it was threatened by Yādava Siṁhaṇa from the south, Paramāra Devapāla from the south-east and the Muslims under Iltutmish from the north-east.[3] The *Hammīramadamardana* states that Dhārāvarṣa and his allies made up their differences with Vīradhavala[4] and presented a united front when the Muslims reached the battlefield.[5] As the enemy retired from the field, there was no actual fighting.[6]

Dhārāvarṣa had two queens, *viz*, Gīgādevī and Śṛṅgāradevī, of whom the former was the chief queen. Śṛṅgāradevī was a daughter of the Chauhān chief Kelhaṇa.[7] Dhārāvarṣa's younger brother was Prahlādana whom he had appointed his *Yuvarāja*.[8] The latter perhaps predeceased Dhārāvarṣa and so Dhārāvarṣa was succeeded by his son Somasiṁha sometime after 1219 A.D.

1 *Tāj-ul-Ma'asir, HIED,* II, pp. 228-31.

Firishta puts the date of this invasion in 1196 A.D. and he names the leaders as Wallen and Dārābarz (*TF,* I, p. 196). Wallen has been identified with Prahlādana, the younger brother of Dhārāvarṣa.

2 Nizāmī says that after facing each other for some time the battle which was contested seriously from dawn to midday, ended in the complete overthrow of the Hindus (*HIED,* II, pp. 228-31). The same is the version of Firishta.

3 *Vide ante* Chap. IX.

4 *HMM,* II, v. 8.

5 *Vide ante* Chap. IX.

6 *Ibid.*

7 See above p. 173, fn. 4 (viii).

8 For Prahlādana see App. V.

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Somasiṁha : c. 1220-36 A.D.

Dhārāvarṣa's son and successor Somasiṁha is said to have obtained training in *Śastravidyā* from his father Dhārāvarṣa and in *Śāstravidyā* from his uncle Prahlādana and in liberality from both.[1] He assumed the title *Mahārājakula.*[2] We have the following inscriptions for this prince :—

Mt. Abu stone inscription (No. I) at the temple of Neminātha, dated 1230 A.D.[3]

Mt. Abu inscription (No. II) at the temple of Neminātha (Abu), dated 1230 A.D.[4]

The weather-worn inscription of Nana. It is dated V.S. 1290= 1233 A.D. We are told that Nanaka (Nana) was in the possession of a favourite of the heir-apparent Kāṇhaḍadeva, *i.e.* Kṛṣṇarāja. Nana was perhaps given to *Yuvarāja* Kṛṣṇarāja by Somasiṁha to meet the former's personal expenses.[5]

The Devakhetra inscription, dated V.S. 1293=1236 A.D. Nothing can be made out of it except the name Somasiṁha and the date.[6]

Recently an inscribed slab belonging to the Sonigirā Chauhāns of Jalor has been discovered in the compound of the Śāntinātha temple at Barlūṭ in the Sirohi District of Rajasthan, about 13 miles to the north-west of Sirohi.[7] The record is dated in V.S. 1283=1226 A.D., falling in the reign of the Songirā Chauhān ruler Udayasiṁha of Jalor. This ruler, who was the son of Samarasiṁha, grandson of Kīrtipāla (Kītu) and great-grandson of king Ālhaṇa (1152-61 A.D.) of Nāḍol, is known from records of his time with dates ranging from 1205 A.D. to 1249 A.D. The discovery of the inscription shows that during the reign of king Somasiṁha Paramāra the Songirā Chauhāns had penetrated into the Sirohi territory and established their hold over the Sirohi region. This area which was brought under

[1] धारावर्षसुतो ऽयं जयति श्रीसोमसिंहदेवो यः ।
पितृतः शौर्यं विद्यां पितृव्यकाद्दानमुभयतो जगृहे ॥ *EI*, VIII, p. 211.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 209.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 208-19.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 219-20.
[5] *D.G's Annual*, 1907-08, p. 226.
[6] *ARRM*, 1910-11, p. 7.
[7] *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 33-38.

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the sway of Udayasiṁha continued in the hands of his son Chāchigadeva.

Somasiṁha is said to have remitted the taxes of the Brāhmaṇas.[1] He was succeeded by Kṛṣṇarāja (III) sometime after 1236 A.D.

Kṛṣṇarāja III

We have no information for the career of this prince. He is given only conventional praise by the *praśasti* writers.[2] He was succeeded by his son Pratāpasiṁha.[3]

Pratāpasiṁha

During the reign of Pratāpasiṁha the fortunes of the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī had sunk low. The Chauhān ruler Chāchigadeva of Jalor is said 'to have enjoyed the fall of the tremulous (or leaping) Pātuka . . .'.[4] This Pātuka has been identified with Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha of Abu.[5] The Abu Paramāras, it seems, had lost a considerable part of their territory to the Chauhāns.[6]

[1] मुक्त्वा विप्रकरानरातिनिकरान्निर्ज्जित्य तत्किंचन ।
प्राप्तसंप्रति सोमसिंहनृपतिः सोमप्रकाशं यशः ॥ *EI*, VIII, p. 211.

[2] He is described as one whose splendour is beyond all measure, who is endowed with fame and compassion (and) who (therefore) resembles the glorious Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva who is united by his mother. *EI*, VIII, p. 211.

[3] The Kālajrā (Sirohi State) Jaina inscription, dated V.S. 1300= 1243 A.D., refers to a prince named Ālhaṇadeva or Ālhaṇasiṁhadeva, who is described as *Mahārājādhirāja* of Chandrāvatī (Nahar, P.C., *Jaina Inscriptions*, pt. I, p. 226 ; *PJLM*, pt. II, p. 426).

This inscription does not mention the family of Ālhaṇadeva. No other record of this prince has been discovered so far, nor do the chronicles refer to him. On the other hand, the Paṭanārāyaṇa inscription of 1287 A.D. mentions Pratāpasiṁha as the successor of Kṛṣṇarāja (III) (*IA*, XLV, p. 78). G.H. Ojha thinks that Ālhaṇadeva may have ruled between Kṛṣṇarāja III and Pratāpasiṁha, but being a collateral his name is omitted in the inscriptions. *RKI*, p. 179, fn. 4.

[4] v. 50 of the Sūndhā Hill inscription, dated 1262 A.D., *EI*, IX, p. 78.

[5] Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[6] Two of Chāchigadeva's inscriptions, namely those at Sūndhā Hill and Sonpur (*EI*, IX, pp. 70-79 ; *ARRM*, 1910-11, p. 5, no. 13), lie only a short distance from Abu in Sirohi. Another inscription of his, dated V.S. 1330=1274 A.D. has been discovered from Barlūṭ, along with his father's inscription. *EI*, XXXVI, pp. 33-38.

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Sometime after this the Paramāra kingdom of Abu seems to have been conquered by the Guhilas of Mewar. An inscription from Abu, dated 1285 A.D. records that king Samarasiṁha Guhila ordered the repair of a *maṭha* on Mt. Arbuda and the erection of a golden staff in honour of the god Achaleśvara (Śiva).[1] This shows that Abu at that time was under the suzerainty of Samarasiṁha Guhila of Mewar. Pratāpasiṁha, however, recaptured Chandrāvatī, the capital, from the Guhilas with the help of Vīśala, the governor of Sāraṅgadeva Vaghela. The Paṭanārāyaṇa inscription of Pratāpasiṁha, dated 1287 A.D., says that the latter defeated one Jaitrakarṇa and regained Chandrāvatī from him.[2] This Jaitrakarṇa may have been the governor of Samarasiṁha Guhila. Vīśala took a prominent part in installing Pratāpasiṁha and for that reason is described as the king of Abu by the Paṭanārāyaṇa inscription.[3] Vīśala remained in charge of Abu at least up to 1293 A.D.[4]

Pratāpasiṁha's minister was Brāhmaṇa Ḍelhaṇa who rebuilt the temple of Paṭanārāyaṇa near Girwar in 1287 A.D.[5]

An inscription from Dhāndhpur dated V.S. 1347=1290 A.D. describes one '*Paramāra Pāṭala suta Arjuna*'.[6] This Pāṭala has been identified with Pratāpasiṁha. Dr. Sukhthankar, however, thinks that Paramāra being too common a clan name among the Rajputs, there is no sufficient reason for identifying Paramāra Pāṭala with Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha.[7] The nearness of the dates of Pratāpasiṁha and Arjuna's inscriptions (*viz*, 1287 A.D. and 1290 A.D.), however leads us to think that the identification is not improbable.

Vikramasiṁha

For Vikramasiṁha we have Varmān inscription dated V.S. 1356=1300 A.D.[8] We do not know his relationship with Pratāpasiṁha. Shortly after this date we find the Chauhāns

1 *IA*, XVI, pp. 345-55.
2 *IA*, XLV, pp. 77-80.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *PO*, III, pp. 69-73 ; Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, p. 184.
5 *IA*, XLV, pp. 77-80.
6 *PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, p. 69.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, p. 72.

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ruling over Arbudamaṇḍala. It thus seems that either during the reign of Vikramasiṁha or his successor, the Chauhāns conquered Chandrāvatī from the Paramāras and then put an end to the rule of their dynasty. This conquest must have been affected between 1300 A.D. to 1312 A.D.[1] Thus the Paramāras of Abu closed their career almost simultaneously with the Paramāras of Malwa.

Section II

THE PARAMĀRAS OF BHINMĀL OR KIRĀḌŪ

The Paramāra principality of Kirāḍū was founded by Sochchharāja, a son of Kṛṣṇarāja II of Chandrāvatī.[2] The main source of information regarding the history of this line is the Kirāḍū inscription of Someśvara, dated 1141 A.D. and 1161 A.D.,[3] which gives the following genealogy :

Sindhurāja
|
Dūś(utp)ala
|
Two names have peeled off
|
Dharaṇīdhara
|
Devarāja
|
Dhandhūka
|
Kṛṣṇarāja (II)
|
Sochchharāja
|
Udayarāja
|
Someśvara.

[1] Though the Songirā Chauhāns had appropriated some part of the Sirohi area from the Paramāras sometime before 1226 A.D., the region around Mt. Abu and Chandrāvatī, however, did not fall into the hands of the Chauhāns until the time of the Devaḍā king Luṇṭigadeva. *EI*, XXXVI, p. 35.

Naiṇsī also tells us that the Chauhāns conquered Abu from the Paramāras. *Khyāt*, pt. I, pp. 120-23 ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 175-77.

[2] See above, p. 170.

[3] *IA*, LXI, pp. 135-36.

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D.C. Ganguly is of the opinion that Sindhurāja of the Kirāḍū inscription is the same as Sindhurāja of Malwa. He thinks that the Kirāḍū branch of the Paramāras was founded by Dūśala, a son of Sindhurāja of Malwa and nephew of Vākpati II. His contention is that after his victorious campaigns, Vākpati II appointed various princes of the royal family to rule over the newly added territories of the Paramāra kingdom, and one such principality was that of Bhinmāl and Kirāḍū where Dūśala was appointed.[1]

D.C. Ganguly's identification of two Sindhurāja's *viz*, Sindhurāja of the Kirāḍū inscription and Sindhurāja of Malwa is highly imaginative and full of chronological improbabilities. History does not know of any son of Sindhurāja of Malwa, named as Dūśala; at least there is neither any epigraphic nor traditional evidence for him. Secondly, if we take the year 1141 A.D.[2] as the year of Someśvara's accession and if we allot a reign period of twenty five years to his predecessors, we find that Sindhurāja of the Kirāḍū inscription would have ruled sometime in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. Sindhurāja of Malwa, on the other hand, was on the throne in the first decade of the 11th century A.D.[3] That is to say the two Sindhurājas are separated from each other by at least a hundred years. This being the case, neither Sindhurāja of the Kirāḍū inscription can be identical with Sindhurāja of Malwa, nor could his son (Kirāḍū Sindhurāja's) Utpala (Dūśala) be a nephew of Vākpati Muñja of Malwa.

Actually the foundation of the Kirāḍū line took place in the reign of Sochchharāja, whose ancestors till then have been the rulers of Abu, though they might have controlled also the territory of Kirāḍū. As we have seen already, Kṛṣṇarāja II (1060-66 A.D.) had two sons *viz*, Kākaladeva and Sochchharāja. Kṛṣṇarāja II perhaps appointed Sochchharāja as a governor of the Bhinmāl area.[4] After the death of his father, Sochchharāja might have either made himself independent of the Chandrāvatī Paramāras ; or it may be that Kṛṣṇarāja II had divided his kingdom into two parts, assigning Abu to Kākaladeva and

1 *GHP*, pp. 22-23 ; *Vide ante* Chap. V.
2 *IA*, LXI, pp. 135-36.
3 *Vide ante* Chap. V.
4 See above p. 170.

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Bhinmāl-Kirāḍū to Sochchharāja. Like the Abu chiefs, the chiefs of this family accepted the suzerainty of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.

Sochchharāja who ruled sometime between *c.* 1075 A.D. and *c.* 1125 A.D., was succeeded by his son Udayarāja,[1] who is said to have conquered Choḍa, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Malwa.[2] This description being a panegyric boast, can at the most mean that Udayarāja fought from the side of his overlord, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja Chaulukya (1093-1142 A.D.) against the Choḷas, Gauḍas,[3] Karṇāṭas and the Mālavas, and thus participated in the victories of his master. But such an interpretation too is far from certain. Udayarāja would have ruled between *c.* 1125-41 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Someśvara who is the best known prince of this family.

Someśvara is said to have regained his lost kingdom of Sindhurājapura[4] through the favour of (Chaulukya) Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (perhaps in V.S. (11)98=1142 A.D.).[5] This may mean that the Paramāras of Kirāḍū, though deprived of at least a part of their territory sometime before 1141 A.D., regained it later with the assistance of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja.

In the year 1148 A.D. Someśvara is said to have been firmly established in the reign of Chaulukya Kumārapāla.[6] As suggested by A.K. Majumdar, this might mean that the new king Kumārapāla confirmed his father's feudatory Paramāra Someśvara.[7]

[1] *IA*, LXI, p. 136, l. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] These Gauḍas are different from the Gauḍas of Bengal. There was a small state known as Gauḍa in the Punjab. Udayarāja may have helped Jayasiṁha in his battle against the people of this Gauḍa state of the Punjab.

[4] This place has not been identified so far.

[5] जयसिंहमहीपाला - - - [॥१८] - - - ष्टम - - - (?) - - - वर्षे
विक्रमभूपतेः । प्रसादाज्जयसिंहस्य सिद्धराजस्य भूभुजः [॥१९॥]
- - - जैन सिन्धुराजपुरोद्भवं । भूयो निर्व्याज सौ (शौ)र्येण
राज्यमेतत्समुद्धृतं ॥२०॥ *IA*, LXI, p. 136.

[6] पुनर्द्वा [दशसंख्येषु पं] चाधिकशतेष्ट (ष्व) लं ।
कुमारपालभपालात् सप्रतिष्ठमिदं कृतं ॥
[कि] रा [ट] कूपमात्मीयं - - - समन्वितं । *Ibid.*, vv. 20-22.

[7] Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 255.

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Someśvara however was not destined to rule in peace in his hereditary kingdom. Sometime in V.S. 1209=1152 A.D. we find Ālhaṇa, the Chauhān chief of Nāḍol, ruling in Kirāṭakūpa *i.e.* Kirāḍū, which he is said to have obtained by the favour of Chaulukya Kumārapāla.[1] It seems that Someśvara was replaced by Ālhaṇa in 1152 A.D., because the former lost the favour of his overlord due to some reason which is not known. Someśvara, however, was able to please his master by his loyalty for he regained his patrimony by 1161 A.D. (V.S. 1218), *i.e.* the year in which we find him ruling in Kirāṭakūpa *i.e.* Kirāḍū along with Śivakūpa[2] perhaps Sheo, which lies in the western part of Jodhpur division of Rajasthan.

Someśvara is also associated with the capture of the forts of Tanukoṭṭa and Navasara[3] *i.e.* Tanaut in Jaisalmer and Nansar in Jodhpur, from a prince named Jajjaka. He also exacted from Jajjaka, 1700 horses (including one five-nailed and eight peacock breasted horses) on Tuesday of the bright half of Āśavina V.S. 1218 at 4¾ hours after the sunrise.[4] But when Jajjaka acknowledged the allegiance to the Chaulukya king (Kumārapāla), Someśvara reinstated him in his former possessions.[5]

In the year V.S. 1235=1178 A.D. we find the Chāhamāna prince Madanabrahmadeva ruling over Kirāḍū, as the feudatory of the Chaulukya king Bhīma II.[6] Perhaps Someśvara died without any male issue and so his territory passed on to the Chāhamāna feudatory chief of the Chaulukyas, or it may be that Someśvara's descendants lost the confidence of the Chaulukya overlord. In any case the Paramāras of Kirāḍū seem to have closed their history before 1178 A.D.[7]

1 *EI*, XI, pp. 43-46.

2 *IA*, LXI, p. 136, vv. 21-23.

3 *Ibid.*, vv. 24-26.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 *IA*, LXII, p. 42.

7 One Āsala the ruler of Kirāḍū is mentioned in the Sūndhā Hill inscription, as having been wounded by the arrows of Kīrtipāla Chāhamāna. (*EI*, IX, p. 77, v. 36). He may have been a descendant of Someśvara.

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Section III

THE PARAMĀRAS OF JALOR[1]

The Jalor inscription of Paramāra Vīśala, dated V.S. 1174= 1118 A.D.[2] has revealed to us the existence of another branch of the Paramāras who held sway in Jalor. This was the solitary epigraphic record of this dynasty till the recent publication of a copper-plate charter issued from Jalor (Jabālipura) by *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vijayarāja on 16th April, 1109 A.D., during the reign of king Vīśala.[3] The genealogy of this family as given in these inscriptions stands thus :

Vākpatirāja
|
Chandana
|
Devarāja
|
Aparājita
|
Vijjala
|
Dhārāvarṣa
|
Vīśala

This Vākpati, who was the founder of the Jalor branch of the Paramāras, however, was different from Vākpati II of Malwa.[4] The latter did not, to the least of our knowledge, have any male issue and so appointed his nephew Bhoja Paramāra as his *Yuvarāja* and was succeeded by his brother Sindhurāja.[5] Vākpati of Jalor inscriptions, on the other hand, had a son named Chandana.[6] This branch of the Paramāras seems to have been an offshoot of the Paramāras of Abu and like the Kirāḍū

[1] Jalor, also referred to as Jabālipura or Javālipura, lies 38 miles to the north-west of Sirohi.

[2] *IA*, LXII, p. 41.

[3] *IHQ*, 1961, pp. 160-64.

[4] D.C. Ganguly and following him Sadhuram have identified them. *GHP*, pp. 19, 52 ; *IHQ*, 1961, p. 162.

[5] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

[6] आसीद्वाक्पतिराजनामनृपतिः श्री परमारा [न्वये]
तत्पुत्रोजनि चन्दना (नो)ऽवनिपतिर्स्तन्नंदनो देव (राट्) *IA*, LXII, p. 41.

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branch, was perhaps founded by a prince of the Abu line, some time during the reign of Dharaṇīvarāha,[1] who is traditionally believed to have distributed the whole of Marwar among his relatives.[2] Vākpati has been described as the ruler of Sīharā-*maṇḍala*,[3] probably bearing some affinity with Sihara.[4] The inscriptions are silent as far as the careers of Candana, Devarāja, Aparājita and Vijjala are concerned. Vīśala's father Dhārāvarṣa has been described as a veteran warrior and his glory could well be compared with Indra, the lord of the gods.[5] We are told that in 1109 A.D. when Vīśala was the king of Jalor, the capital (*i.e.* Jabālipura or Jalor) was under the administrative control of Vijayarāja, a noble of the rank of a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*.[6] About Vīśala we further learn from his inscription, dated 1118 A.D., that he enlightened all the petty chiefs with his religious knowledge. His wife Melarādevī got a golden *kalaśa* put on the steeple of the temple of Sindhurājeśvara.[7] This temple which was probably built by Sindhurāja, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty of Abu and Marwar has, however, remained untraced so far.

Like the other branches of the Paramāras of Marwar, the Jalor Paramāras too seem to have accepted the sovereignty of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. That Jalor was a Chaulukya dependency is proved by the fact that Vigraharāja IV, the Chāhamāna chief of Śākambharī, in the course of his retaliatory expeditions

[1] As Vākpati was seventh in the lineal ascent from Vīśala, whose known dates are 1109 A.D. and 1118 A.D., the former would have flourished sometime between *c.* 960 and 985 A.D. or so. This Vākpati of Jalor was therefore a contemporary of Dharaṇīvarāha of Abu (*c.* 967-97 A.D.). As to what were the relations between Dharaṇīvarāha and Vākpati, we have no information. Dharaṇīvarāha is credited with having established his nine brother in the different parts of Marwar (see above p. 165, fn. 5). Though the traditional account is far from being correct, it may be that Vākpatirāja was one of Dharaṇīvarāha's brothers who established his rule over Jalor. Naiṇsī also records a tradition according to which the Paramāras of Jalor were the descendants of the Paramāras of Abu. *Khyāt*, pt. I, p. 252.

[2] See above p. 165, fn. 5.

[3] *IHQ*, 1961, p. 163, l. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 162 ; *GHP*, p. 327.

[5] *IHQ*, 1961, p. 164, ll. 5-7.

[6] *Ibid.*, ll. 8-9.

[7] *IA*, LXII, p. 41.

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against Gujarat is said to have made Javālipura *i.e.* Jalor, a city of flames.[1] Kumārapāla Chaulukya, the lord paramount of Jalor, is known to have built also a temple called Kumāravihāra at Jalor.[2]

No inscription has been found for the descendants of Vīśala of Jalor. Muhṇota Naiṇsī, however, informs us that when Kītu or Kīrtipāla, the founder of the Songirā branch of the Chāhamānas, took possession of Jalor, the ruling prince there was Kuntapāla Paramāra.[3] Epigraphic evidence supports Naiṇsī as regards the name of the dynasty which held sway over Jalor, at the time of its capture by the Chāhamānas. One Kuntapāla is also said to have been defeated by Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī.[4] This Kuntapāla may have been the Paramāra chief of Jalor, whose territory was invaded and whose capital town Javālipura was set on fire by Vigraharāja IV, the reason perhaps being that Kuntapāla owed allegiance to Kumārapāla Chaulukya, the arch enemy of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī.[5] This severe blow at the hands of the powerful monarch of the Chāhamānas must have rendered Kuntapāla very weak and thus easily vulnerable to the attack of Kīrtipāla Chāhamāna, who took no time in expelling Kuntapāla from Jalor and establishing himself there as the founder of the Songirā branch of the Chāhamānas.[6] As Kīrtipāla closed his reign sometime before V. S. 1239 = 1182 A.D.,[7] the extinction of the Paramāra dynasty of Jalor must have taken place a little earlier. Thus the two Paramāra dynasties of Marwar,

[1] Bijholi inscription, *EI*, XXVI, p. 105, v. 21.

[2] *EI*, XI, p. 55.

[3] Kuntapāla is said to have been betrayed into Kīrtipāla's hands by his own Dahiya relatives. *Naiṇasī-kī-khyāt*, I, p. 152 ; *SRKI*, pp. 178-79.

[4] *EI*, XXVI, p. 105, v. 20 ; see also the editor's comments, *ibid.*, p. 95.

[5] Kuntapāla of Bijholi inscription has, however, been identified with Nāḍulliya Chauhān Kuntapāla of the Naṇana inscription of Kumārapāla. *ABORI, Silver Jubilee Volume*, p. 317.

[6] As Nāḍol was situated on a plain, it was not very suitable for putting up a strong defence against the enemies. According to G. H. Ojha, it was this fact which made Kīrtipāla capture Jalor, which was situated on a hill named Suvarṇagiri or Sonalagiri and make it his capital. This line of the Chāhamānas came to be known as Songirā Chāhamānas after the name of the hill Sonalgiri. *SRKI*, p. 179.

[7] It is the first known date of Kītu's successor Samarasiṁha. *EI*, XI, pp. 52-54.

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Kirāḍū and Jalor, closed their political careers before the end of the 12th century A.D.

Section IV

THE PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA

The country of Vāgaḍa[1] for a long time was ruled over by a junior branch of the Paramāras who established their headquarters at Arthuna, a village about 28 miles west of Bānswārā.[2] At least in the beginning, they seem to have controlled only the south-eastern part of Vāgḍa, *i.e.* the territory adjacent to the kingdom of Malwa, and for a long time remained loyal to the house of Dhārā.

Like the other branches of the Paramāras, the Vāgḍa Paramāras too trace their origin from the *Agnikuṇḍa* of Muni Vasiṣṭha at Mt. Arbuda.[3] The first historical figure of this family was Ḍaṁbarasiṁha,[4] who was appointed by his father Upendra of Malwa to govern the country of Vāgaḍa.[5] If we put Upendra in *c.* 791-818 A.D. then Ḍaṁbarasiṁha, as his son, would have been on the throne in the second quarter of the 9th century A.D.

He was followed by Dhanika, who built the temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahākāla in Ujjain.[6] He was followed by his nephew Chacha,[7] and the latter by Kaṁkadeva,[8] whose name,

1 *Vide ante* Chap. I.
2 *Rajputana Gazetteer*, I, p. 101.
3 *EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310 ; *EI*, XXI, pp. 42-50.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Vide ante* Chap. IV.
6 *EI*, XXI, p. 47, vv. 26-27.
7 *Ibid.*, v. 28.
8 D.C. Ganguly assumes that Kaṁkadeva of the Arthuna inscription (*EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310) and Chacha of the Panhera inscription (*EI*, XXI, pp. 42-50) are identical (*GHP*, p. 337).

v. 28 of the Panhera inscription says that Chacha succeeded Dhanika. But nothing is said about the achievements of the former. v. 29, on the other hand, tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost, gave battle to Khoṭṭigadeva at Khālighāṭa in the cause of Sīyaka II and went to heaven. This unnamed ruler should be identified not with Chacha of v. 28, but with Kaṁkadeva who, according to vv. 17-19, of the Arthuna inscription, belonged to the lineage of Ḍaṁbarasiṁha, a

(*Contd. on next page*

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though peeled off from the Panhera inscription, dated V.S. 1116=1059 A.D.,[1] is supplied by the Arthuna inscription dated V.S. 1136=1079 A.D.[2] Kaṁkadeva was a brave soldier and like a true hero of the Rajput times died fighting on the battlefield in the cause of Harṣa Sīyaka II of Malwa against Khoṭṭigadeva on the bank of the river Narmada.[3]

Kaṁkadeva was succeeded by Chandapa, who due to some reason, came into conflict with Sindhurāja of Malwa.[4] He was followed by Satyarāja who was a contemporary of king Bhoja of Dhārā.[5] The Panhera inscription records his victory over the Gurjaras, apparently the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.[6] It also states that Satyarāja received a fortune from king Bhoja.[7] It may be that Satyarāja took a prominent part in the sack of Aṇahilapattana with the Paramāra general Kulachandra[8] and was honoured by Bhoja. He married the Chāhamāna princess Rājyaśrī and had two sons, Limbarāja and Maṇḍalīka.[9] Satyarāja was succeeded by Limbarāja,[10] who seems to have ruled only for a short period. He was followed by Maṇḍalīka.

Maṇḍalīka was a feudatory of Bhojadeva and Jayasiṁha I, the Paramāra rulers of Malwa.[11] In his Panhera inscription, dated 1059 A.D., he is said to have captured a commander named Kanha, along with his elephants, and handed him over to his overlord Jayasiṁha I Paramāra.[12] He is also mentioned as having defeated one Sindhurāja.[13] In the Arthuna inscription of the

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younger brother of Vairisiṁha (apparently Vairisiṁha I Paramāra of Malwa), and who overthrew in battle, on the banks of Narmada, the army of the king of Karṇāṭa and fighting on the side of *Śrī* Harṣa *i.e.* Sīyaka II of Malwa, died a hero's death. *Vide ante* Chap. IV.

1 *EI*, XXI, pp. 42-50.
2 *EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310.
3 *Vide ante* Chap. IV.
4 *Vide ante* Chap. V.
5 *Vide ante* Chap. VI.
6 *EI*, XXI, p. 47, v. 31.
7 *Ibid.*
8 See above p. 89.
9 *EI*, XXI, pp. 47-48, vv. 32-34.
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*, vv. 35-37.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *EI*, XIV, p. 301, v. 55.

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time of Vijayarāja, dated 1109 A.D., the version is slightly different, for it states that Maṇḍalīka killed the general Kanha and Sindhurāja.[1] As an earlier statement the former is more reliable. As to Sindhurāja, it is not possible to identify him with Sindhurāja the father of Bhoja Paramāra who ruled between *c.* 997-1010 A.D., *i.e.* much before Maṇḍalīka who as a contemporary of Sindhurāja's son Bhoja and the latter's successor Jayasiṁha I, had probably ascended the throne only towards the end of Bhoja's reign. This Sindhurāja may therefore be regarded as a king of Sindhudeśa. Where and when, and for whom and why Maṇḍalīka fought against Kanha and Sindhurāja is a matter not ascertainable in the present state of our knowledge.

King Pṛthvīpāla Chauhān of Nāḍol is said to have attacked a ruler named Maṇḍalīka. 'In the battle of Rohaḍavāpika', says the *Fragmentary Nāḍol Family Grant*,[2] 'the subjects of Maṇḍalīka, struck with spearheads by Pṛthvīpāla's troopers, left far away their shame, sons, wives as well as property, and fled away in all directions'.[3] This Maṇḍalīka has been identified with Maṇḍalīka Paramāra of Vāgaḍa and the locality of Rohaḍavāpika may have been somewhere near Maṇḍalīka's dominions.[4]

Maṇḍalīka is said to have built a temple of Maṇḍaleśvara (Śiva) at Paṁśulakheṭaka (*i.e.* Panhera).[5] King Jayasiṁha I, the overlord of Maṇḍalīka, is stated to have assigned to the god, for defraying the expenses of worship, one *viṁśopaka* on every bull (that passed) on the road and also some land at Paṁśulakheṭaka.[6] Maṇḍalīka also granted to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare, some land and a garden behind Nagnataḍāga and the temple of Varuṇeśvarī together with some rice-fields as well as land in the villages of Naṭṭapataka, Pānāchhī and Maṇḍaladraha.[7] These places have been identified as Naṭawārā,

[1] आसोच्छ्रीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमण्डलीकाभिधः कन्हस्य ध्वजिनीपतेर्निधनकृच्छ्रीसिंधुराजस्य च । *EI*, XXI, p. 52.

[2] *Sharma, D., op. cit.*, p. 188, App. G. (V).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 190, ll. 17-18.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[5] *EI*, XXI, pp. 48-49, vv. 45-47.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 49, vv. 47-52.

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Paṇsi and Madalda respectively, all situated in the neighbourhood of Panhera.[1]

The Arthuna inscription of Chāmuṇḍrāja devotes as many as twenty verses to the commemoration of Maṇḍalīka's princely qualities,[2] but no definite information can be gleaned from this fulsome description except that Maṇḍalīka was famous for his liberality, built a town adorned with white houses and gardens[3] and laid a number of imposts for the temple of Maṇḍaleśa.[4] Maṇḍalīka ruled between *c.* 1045-1070 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Chāmuṇḍarāja for whom we find the following inscriptions :

Arthuna inscription which was found on the right side of the *śikhara* of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva, dated V.S. 1136=1079 A.D.[5]

Arthuna inscription dated V.S. 1137=1080 A.D. It mentions his officer, whose name is lost but who had three sons, Āśādeva, Bhavyasarāja and Anantapāla, who built the temple of Śiva in the time of Chāmuṇḍarāja, apparently the same temple, in which the inscription was discovered.[6]

The mutilated Arthuna inscription dated V.S. 1157=1100 A.D. which refers to Paramāra Chāmuṇḍarāja, son of Maṇḍaṇa (*i.e.* Maṇḍalīka).[7]

Arthuna inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja Paramāra, dated V.S. 1159=1102 A.D.[8]

1 *EI*, XXI, p. 43 ; see also Chap. VII.

2 *EI*, XIV, pp. 299-300.

3 *Ibid.*

4 L D. Barnett thinks that Sindhurāja was defeated by Chāmuṇḍarāja, who, he thinks, built the temple Maṇḍaleśvara to commemorate the memory of his father Maṇḍalīka (*EI*, XIV, p. 296).

But the publication of the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja, (*EI*, XXI, pp. 50-55) and the Panhera inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 42-50) leaves no doubt that Sindhurāja was defeated by Maṇḍalīka or Maṇḍanadeva and it was the latter who built the temple Maṇḍaleśvara.

Not only this, v. 55 of the Arthuna inscription (which speaks of the defeat of Sindhurāja etc.) is followed by a prayer for the continuance of the glory of Maṇḍalīka (v. 67). Hence the natural conclusion is that the intervening vv. 57-60 of the Arthuna inscription (*EI*, XIV, pp. 301-02) refer to Maṇḍalīka and not to Chāmuṇḍarāja.

5 *EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310.

6 *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 35.

7 *PRAS, WC*, 1908-09, p. 49.

8 *ARRM*, 1914-15, p. 2.

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Chāmuṇḍarāja was a brave warrior and a successful general. He is said to have fought a number of successful battles with his enemies.[1] According to the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja, dated V.S. 1166=1109 A.D., Chāmuṇḍarāja destroyed the army of the lord of Avanti in the Sthalī (*i.e.* Vāgaḍa) country.[2] It seems that the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa took advantage of the chaotic conditions which prevailed in Malwa after the death of Bhoja I and declared their independence on the death of Jayasiṁha I, whom too they recognised their overlord. When attacked by Udayāditya the opponent of Jayasiṁha I[3] they, under the leadership of Chāmuṇḍarāja, successfully defied the Paramāras of Malwa. Thus Vāgaḍa was lost to the kingdom of Malwa in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.[4] Chāmuṇḍarāja must have closed his reign some time between 1102 and 1108 A.D.

He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and rebuilt the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara (Śiva) and dispensed bounties to the Brāhmaṇas. He was succeeded by Vijayarāja, for whom we have the following inscriptions :

The Arthuna inscription, dated V.S. 1165=1108 A.D. It records the installation of an image of Hanumān and contains the names of Maṇḍaṇa and Chāmuṇḍarāja, the grandfather and father respectively of Vijayarāja.[5]

Arthuna inscription, dated V.S. 1166=1109 A.D.[6] It informs us that Vijayarāja was a brave soldier, conqueror of his foes and a famous ruler.[7] The verses 4 and 5 of this epigraph relate that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Tālapaṭaka, the residence of Ambaṭa, a learned Jaina physician. His son was Pāpaka who knew the whole of Āyurveda (v.7). He had three sons, Alaka, Sāhasa and Lalluka (v.8). Alaka was benevolent, well-versed in history and a pupil of Chhatrasena of the Māthura family (vv.9-11). He had three sons by his wife Holā. The eldest was Pāhuka who was well-versed in *śāstras* and who became a recluse (vv.12-14). His younger brother was

1 *EI*, XIV, p. 301, v. 54.
2 *EI*, XXI, p. 52, v. 2.
3 *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *ARRM*, 1917-18, p. 2.
6 *PRAS, WC*, 1908-09, p. 49 ; *EI*, XXI, pp. 50-55.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 52, v. 3.

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Bhūṣaṇa, a pious Jaina whose glories are described in verses 15-19. Bhūṣaṇa established a Jaina temple of *Vṛṣbhanātha* in the town of Uthanaka, *i.e.* Arthuna in the year 1109, while Vijayarāja was reigning in the territory of Sthalī.[1] Vāmana was the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Vijayarāja and this *praśasti* was composed by him, and he was the son of Kāyastha Rājapāla of the Vallabha family.[2]

Vijayarāja is the last known ruler of the Vāgaḍa line of the Paramāras. No trace has yet been found of his successors. It is known, however, that in V.S. 1212=1155 A.D., Vāgaḍa was being ruled over by one *Mahārāja* Surapāla, son of Vijayapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāla, who was the son of Pṛthvīpāla *alias* Bhaṛtripaṭṭa, who issued his inscription from Thākarḍā in the Dūṅgarpur State.[3] This Vijayapāla, the father of Surapāla has been identified with Vijayapāla of Ingnoda inscription, dated V.S. 1190=1133 A.D.[4] The genealogy given for these rulers makes it clear that they were not connected with the Paramāra dynasty which was ruling in Vāgaḍa, only three decades earlier. This shows that by that time the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa were dethroned by the members of a family whose name is not known to us. It may be that when the Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasiṁha invaded and occupied Malwa he captured Vāgaḍa as well. This is proved by the Talwārā inscription of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja.[5] It was perhaps during these circumstances that the princes of this family accepted the Chaulukyan suzerainty.[6] From another inscription dated V.S. 1236=1179 A.D. found at Solaj in Dūṅgarpur state,[7] we find that king Sāmantasiṁha Guhila was ruling over Vāgaḍa.[8] Sāmantasiṁha, however, seems

1 *EI*, XXI, p. 55.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *ARRM*, 1915-16, p. 3.

4 *IA*, VI, pp. 55-56.

5 *ARRM*, 1915-16, p. 2.

6 One *Mahārājādhirāja* Amṛtapāla, son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayapāla *alias* Bhaṛtripaṭa, who according to the Vīrapura copper plate, dated V.S. 1242=1185 A.D., was a subordinate chief ruling over the Vāgaḍa country under the suzerainty of Chaulukya Bhima II, was probably the brother and successor of Surapāla. For details see *IHQ*, 1959, pp. 9-15.

7 *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 3.

8 Naiṇsī also confirms this fact for he says that Guhila Sāmantasiṁha established his supremacy in Vāgaḍa. *Khyāt*, pt. I, p. 85.

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to have been dispossessed of his newly established kingdom by *Mahārājādhirāja* Amṛtapāla of the Vīrapura copper-plate grant, dated 1185 A.D., who may have established himself with the help of his Chaulukya overlord.[1] The Chaulukyan paramountcy in this area is proved also by an inscription at Dīwarā, dated V.S. 1253=1196 A.D. in the Dūṅgarpur state.[2]

Thus the Vāgaḍa Paramāras ended their career simultaneously with the other Paramāra families of Marwar *i.e.* about the end of the 12th century A.D.

[1] *IHQ*, 1959, pp. 9-15.
[2] *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 3 ; *IHQ*, 1959, pp. 9-15.

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CHAPTER XII

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF THE PARAMĀRAS

THUS ENDED the Paramāra power in Malwa and Rajasthan after having flourished for nearly five centuries, a period by no means small when we take the life of the other contemporary royal lines into consideration.

One who is acquainted with the Paramāra history cannot regard lack of valour among the Paramāra chiefs as a cause of the Paramāra downfall. The name Paramāra itself can be etymologically derived to mean 'a destroyer of one's enemies' (*i.e. Para*+*māra*); and when they could not destroy, they at least won the respect of the enemy by their bravery. The Paramāra as well non-Paramāra sources bear testimony to the fact that the Paramāras knew how to die on the battlefield. Like the other Rajputs, they preferred death on the battlefield to the disdained life of a defeated soldier.[1] More than once the Muslims had to fall back before their onslaughts.

Nor can the Paramāra failure be accounted for by want of religious fervour. The Paramāras were devout followers of the Hindu religion and their sword was ever ready to protect the Brāhmaṇas and to defend the *varṇāśrama-dharma*. They were great patrons of Vedic scholars and studies, builders of Hindu temples and protectors of the sacred places of the Hindus. The study of the contemporary literature and epigraphic records belies the general belief that Muslims alone knew how to risk their lives in the cause of their faith.

[1] Wives and mothers wished their husbands and sons to die while protecting their motherland, than to come back to live with them after being defeated by the enemy.

Cf. भल्ला हुआ जु मारिआ बहिणि ! महारा कंतु ।

Hemachandra's *Prākṛt Vyākaraṇa*, illustration of *sūtra* 4/351.

पुत्तें जाएं कवणु गुणु अवगुणु कवणु मुएण ।
जा वप्पी की भुंहडी चंपिज्जइ अवरेण ॥ *Ibid.*, illustration of *sūtra* 4/395.

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Equally difficult it is to agree with those scholars who ascribe the fall of the Paramāras to the lack of astute generalship among the Paramāra leaders. Sīyaka II, Vākpati Muñja, Bhoja the Great, Udayāditya, Naravarman, prince Jagaddeva, Dhārāvarṣa and Prahlādana, to name only a few, were all great military generals, worthy of admiration and in no way inferior to their Muslim adversaries. Mahmūd of Ghaznī, the hero of many a battle, avoided a contest with Bhoja Paramāra whose armies are known to have fought successfully against the Turuṣkas. Dhārāvarṣa, the Paramāra prince of Abu, successfully blocked the way of Muhammad of Ghor in the Abu valley more than once ; and king Devapāla of Malwa and his successors resisted the might of the Delhi Sultans for years. We have, therefore, to search elsewhere for the causes of the Paramāra downfall rather than in the lack of valour or religious fervour or military skill among the Paramāra chiefs.

Partly at least the extinction of the Paramāra sovereignty must be ascribed to the geographical situation of the country they ruled over. A rich and fertile tract with no clear cut boundaries can never be immune from invasions ;[1] at least it is very easily drawn into the neighbour's quarrels and is forced to fritter away its energy and wealth that can be used for better purposes. Even powerful rulers like Muñja and Bhoja could not prevent its being attacked by enemies from the south and the west ; with weaker monarchs on the throne, Malwa always formed the arena where its ambitious neighbours fought their battles for supremacy. The Chaulukyas of Aṇahilapattana, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Chauhāns of Ranthambhor, all in their turn tried to draw Malwa within the sphere of their political influence. They also sacked, whenever they could, its fairest cities, glorying in burning its architectural treasures, on which millions must have been spent. The Paramāras had ever to be in harness to meet such attacks. But no dynasty, however able its members may have been, could have for ever stood this constant drain of men, money and power, entailed by the need of being ever ready for war from any direction and simultaneously on all the fronts. Under strong rulers, tribute and booty from outside could provide the

1 *Vide ante* Chap. I.

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necessary expenses for a few years, though on a progressively decreasing scale; under weak rulers, forced to live on their own, the deterioration in power was not merely appreciable but extremely rapid.

To some extent the downfall may have been due to the caste system[1] which, whatever its services may have been in the social organization, proved disastrous in the political field. It kept a large section of the society away from active military life. Once the fighting class (the Rajputs, a few Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas here and there) was defeated, the enemy had an easy access to the country. The Brāhmaṇas put up resistance only when it came to the destruction of the temples. The traders and merchants did not care much as to what was happening, as long as there was a settled government to provide atmosphere for trading; and they were the first to come to terms with the alien government. The depressed classes obviously had no interest in the perpetuation of a system in which they had plenty to do and nothing to enjoy.

In some measure the downfall may have been due to the existence of the strong feudatory families whose power and ambition constituted a perpetual threat to the stability of the central government.[2] By contrast the government of the Sultans, who conquered the country, was in strict theory a theocracy with Islam as the state religion and in practice a military despotism. Thus unlike the armies of the invaders, fighting under one undivided command, the armies of the Indians largely consisted of contingents of the feudatory chiefs fighting under their own leaders.

Equally or perhaps more fatal cause of the decline of the Paramāra power was perhaps the Paramāras' over-ambitious foreign policy. They felt that they had only two alternatives to choose between, either to rule over others or to be ruled over by them. A strong dynasty like that of the Paramāras, was naturally bound to choose the first alternative; they preferred being *chakravartins*. A Muñja or Bhoja could never be a mere *maṇḍaleśvara*. But the pity is that they could not think of a third alternative, that of somehow composing their differences

1 *Vide infra* Chap. XV.
2 *Vide infra* Chap. XIII.

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with the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms and evolving some sort of a federation; even a loose one might have been better than none. With the common culture, common ideas and almost a common language that the Indians of that period possessed, it was by no means an impossible task. It was usual to have dual or tripartite alliances; even bigger, though temporary, confederal alliances were not unknown. Carried a bit further and given a new direction, these alliances might have proved the saving of India and Indian culture. With the Muslims not merely at our doors but inside the country, a united front alone could have saved the country. The Rajputs, the Paramāras of course included among them, followed a policy of self aggrandisement, caring little for the larger interests of their motherland. Even when the Hindu kingdoms were falling like ninepins before the energetic onslaught of the Khaljīs, Hammīra of Ranthambhor dreamt of a *digvijaya* and big sacrifices ; the Vaghelas of Gujarat gloated over their success in burning a few towns of Malwa ; Rāmchandra of Devagiri unmindful of the nemesis awaiting him, boasted of being 'a blast of the day of the destruction in extinguishing the lamps of the Mālavas'. If the Paramāras could not at the time brag in a similar strain, it was due to the fact that their fortunes were then at their lowest ebb. The days of their glory were over. The neighbouring Hindu kingdoms had done much to weaken them, and the Muslims dealt the final death blow.

But the Paramāra power was in a large measure defunct before the Khaljīs entered Malwa ; it had died a natural death, weighed down by its over ambitious foreign policy and the equally over ambitious foreign policy of its neighbours. Their own dissensions, and disunity fostered by the caste system, a defective military mechanism, made worse by not infrequent cases of treason and treachery on the part of the ministers and other officials, the ignorance of the masses who were completely unaware of the internal weakness of the Paramāra government and the incoming external dangers, can be adduced to explain the decline of the Paramāras. But these by themselves could not have put Malwa under the heels of its Muslim conquerors, if its rulers had possessed the foresight to make a common cause with their neighbours and to create a greater Malwa, if not an India in which by virtue of their position and power, they

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might have easily occupied a very prominent place. A little more of cultural and emotional integration was also necessary to meet the onslaughts of an aggressive and proselytising religion like Islam. But India was destined to suffer nearly a thousand years of political subjection before learning these great lessons.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE PARAMĀRA ADMINISTRATION

OUR SOURCES for an analysis of the Paramāra administration are far from satisfactory. We do not get a complete picture of the Paramāra administrative set-up from their inscriptions. The utility of the epigraphic records of the Paramāras, however, lies in the fact that they sometimes reveal the names of the state officials and the taxes imposed by the state, a piece of information when studied in the context of the contemporary literature gives us a fairly good picture of the Paramāra administration. Among the literary sources that we may utilise, Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī* written at the Paramāra court, is most informative. We do get a few facts from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*, *Yuktikalpataru* and *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*. The administrative ideals then pursued in the contemporary courts and revealed to us by works like the *Upamitibhavaprapañchākathā* of Siddharṣi Sūri, the *Mānasollāsa* of Somadeva and the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, too might have influenced the moulding of the Paramāra administrative structure.

The form of the Paramāra government was monarchical throughout the long history of this dynasty. The Paramāra rulers were known as the *mahārājas*, *mahārājādhirājas*, *nṛpas* and *bhūpas*. But from the time of Vākpati II onwards the Paramāras of Malwa assumed the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* which speaks of the imperial ambitions cherished by the rulers of Malwa.[1] Various other epithets were also assumed by different monarchs. King Vākpati II, for instance, assumed the titles *Śrīvallabha*, *Pṛthvīvallabha* and *Amoghavarṣa*.[2] He was popularly known as the *Kavi-bāndhava*.[3] His brother and successor Sindhurāja bore

[1] In the later records of the family the title *Paramabhaṭṭaraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara* is given to rulers from Vākpati I onwards. *Vide ante* Chap. IV.

[2] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

[3] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

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the title *Navasāhasāṅka*.[1] Bhoja the Great was called *Sārvabhauma-chakravartin* and assumed various titles like *Tribhuvanārāyaṇa*, *Śiṣṭaśiromaṇi* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, befitting his cultural accomplishments.[2] King Naravarman took pride in calling himself a *Nirbhaya-Nārāyaṇa* or *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa* and *Trividhi-vīra-chūḍāmaṇi* ;[3] this last was also the epithet of prince Jagaddeva.[4]

The authority of the Paramāra king was supreme. He was the executive as well as the constitutional head of the state. He appointed various important civil and administrative officers of the state, transferred them from one place to another and dismissed them whenever he considered it necessary. The king conferred titles and other distinctions for meritorious service. He was also the commander-in-chief of his army and himself led various campaigns.[5] He was the highest judge and the lord of the state exchequer. He was the head of the state *de jure* ; his authority was unfettered in theory and legally he was an absolute monarch. Consciously too some rulers may have tried to attain such a position of despotism. The *Mānasollāsa*, a work composed at the contemporary Chālukyan court, for instance, recommends *ātmayattarājya*, saying that the best ruler was one who ruled of himself and the worst who had to depend upon his ministers.[6] It further adds that only that *rājā* should be termed as *prabhu* (master) who had the capacity to do things himself, whose commands were unfettered and who was endowed with his own might.[7] The bards and the poets described the king as divine, identified him and compared him with one god or the other.[8] This divinity, however, did not

1 *Vide ante* Chap. V.
2 *Vide ante* Chap. VI.
3 *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
4 *Vide* App. IV.
5 Many of the Paramāra grants were issued from the victorious camps of the Paramāra kings, evidently in the course of their military campaigns. For instance the Harsoḷa grant of Sīyaka II was issued in 949 A.D., when he was returning from his expedition against Yogarāja and was encamped on the banks of the river Mahi. *EI*, XIX, pp. 241-43.
6 *Mānaso*, I, *Vim*, II, v. 687.
7 *Ibid.*, v. 695.
8 *Cf.* King Vairisiṁha II is said to be one who humbled Indra and surpassed Śeśa (*EI*, II, p. 184) ; king Bhoja is compared with God

(*Contd. on next page*

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make the king completely autocratic. His authority was restrained by a number of checks, which though unconstitutional in character, were yet in no way less forceful than the constitutional ones.

The education of the Paramāra princes was so designed as to make them self-controlled as well as learned and brave. The high and noble ideals of self-restraint, charity, impartiality, liberal patronage to religion and learning and respect to the elders and learned people were constantly kept before their minds.[1] The *Agni Purāṇa*[2] and *Nītivākyamṛka*[3] give a long list of the accomplishments which a prince should possess, including the knowledge of arms, assaying the value of jewels and all scripts.[4] The *Agni Purāṇa* prescribes that the princes should be taught *dharmaśāstra*, *kāmaśāstra*, *arthaśāstra*, *dhanurveda* and various other arts and crafts by the true teachers.[5] 'On reading the model courses prescribed for the education of a prince by the ancient Indian writers', says P.V. Kane, 'one cannot help being reminded of the 'philosopher king' of Plato's Republic'.[6]

The legislative powers of the king were limited. He was expected to govern his people strictly in accordance with the civil and criminal law contained in the Smṛtis. In those days when *dharma* had a firm hold on the minds of the people, few kings dared to defy the injunctions of the age-old Dharmaśāstras.[7]

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Kṛṣṇa and the epic hero Arjuna in the following words, 'victorious is Kṛṣṇa, like Kṛṣṇa Arjuna and like Arjuna, the glorious king Bhojadeva' (*EI*, VIII, p. 102) ; King Udayāditya is compared with the Boar incarnation (*EI*, XXVI, p. 183) ; King Jaitugī is called a 'young Nārāyāṇa' in the Māndhātā inscription (*EI*, IX, p. 121) ; and King Kṛṣṇadeva of Abu family is compared with Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva (*EI*, VIII, p. 211, v. 42).

1 In his Ujjain plates Bhoja lays down the following ideals :
'Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two : one is its employment in charities, and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame'. *IA*, VI, p. 55 ; see also *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 150.

2 *Agni Purāṇa*, *Adh*, 255, vv. 1-4.

3 *NVA*, p. 161.

4 *Ibid.*; *KHDh*, III, pp. 49-50.

5 *Agni Purāṇa*, *Adh*, 225, vv. 1-4.

6 *KHDh*, III, p. 50.

7 Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 99.

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Not only this, in the administration of justice, the Paramāra king was guided by a set of officers known as the *Dharmastheyas*.[1] We should remember also the fact that the *mantrins* or the ministers, whom the king was enjoined to consult, must have wielded a considerable influence in controlling the actions of the king.[2]

We should do well to note the fact that the Paramāra royal power would have been checked also by the existence of the powerful feudatories in the Paramāra kingdom *i.e.* the *māṇḍalikas* and the *sāmantas* who enjoyed considerable privileges.[3] Some powerful feudatory chiefs had their own ministers of war and peace, they could wage wars and enter into treaties with the neighbouring powers independently, though originally they might have been appointed and allotted territories by the Paramāra kings. Among them may be mentioned the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa, the Paramāras of Jalor and Yaśovarman of Kalvan.[4] The authority enjoyed was greater still in the case of those feudatory chiefs who carved out their principalities when there was no recognised strong central government. For instance the Paramāra *Mahākumāras*, though they never assumed the imperial titles and described themselves only as *Pañchamahāśabdālaṁkṛta*,[5] they made land-grants in their own right without referring to the Paramāra imperial kings.[6]

The autocracy of the Paramāra king may have been checked also by local usage and local government which would have operated as strongly in the Paramāra kingdom as in any other part of the country. The self-governing institutions like the guilds and the corporations also might have exercised wholesome influence in curbing the oppressive tendencies of a despot. The real life of the society, as pointed out by K.A.N. Sastri,

[1] *TM*, p. 13.

[2] But there being no machinery to ensure the pursuance of such an advice, occasions were not wanting when the Paramāra kings disregarded the sage advice of their ministers. For instance Vākpati II did not listen to the advice of his minister Rudrāditya and marched to the south and perished. *Pc*, p. 22 ; *vide ante* Chap. V.

[3] See below our account of the feudatory chiefs.

[4] *Vide ante* Chap. XI ; *EI*, XIX, pp. 69-75.

[5] For the exact significance of this title see below our account of the feudatory chiefs.

[6] *Vide ante* Chap. VIII.

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'went in other organisations, in the temples, in the *maṭhas*, in the *vihāras*, in the villages, in the caste organisations, in the merchant guilds, all of which flourished independently of the state and went to the king only if they quarrelled among themselves and could not come to an agreement and they wanted an arbitrator to settle the dispute. So long as they were functioning normally without trouble, the king had no place in the social life'.[1]

Coming to the duties of the king, the foremost was of course, the protection of his subjects (*prajārakṣaṇamātra*).[2] The protection was against internal aggression *i.e.* thieves, dacoits, social injustice and the encroachment upon one's legal rights; and from external aggression.[3] It was the king's duty to punish the guilty and to fight against those who disturbed the peace of his territory which sometimes might have resulted in the death of the rulers.[4] He had to act according to circumstances and do everything that the interests of the state demanded, and these interests were, according to the notions of the period, secured well by due attention to the establishment of the *varṇāśramadharma*.[5] Dhanapāla, the author of the *Tilakamañjarī*, describes the ruler not only as *yathārthaḥ-prajāpatiḥ* but also as *vyavasthāpita-varṇāśramadharmaḥ*, and *sarvadarśaṇajña*,[6] which shows that these two conceptions of royal duty—the maintenance of the castes and *āśramas* and the appreciative understanding of the viewpoint of all the sects, had also found universal acceptance during our period;[7] and a ruler who disregarded them would naturally be regarded as bad and became unpopular. According to Devala, as quoted in the *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, 'a ruler's prosperity, good name and happiness and sense of duty grow when he sees to it that all subjects, of all *varṇas*, cooperate in sustaining society by following their appointed duties and

1 *P.K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, p. 371.
2 *TM*, p. 244.
3 *KHDh*, III, p. 56.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *TM*, p. 11.
6 *Ibid.*
7 Many of the Paramāra rulers are eulogised in the *praśastis* as being the protectors of *varṇa* and *āśrama*, *cf.* Udayāditya and Naravarman declared that their swords were ever ready to protect *varṇa* (caste) *JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 351.

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functions'.[1] An ideal king, according to Dhanapāla, was one who was a *sārvabhauma-chakravartin ;* one who was proficient in the six-fold policy (*ṣaḍguṇyaprayogachaturaḥ*); one who had brought all the *sāmantas* under his sway (*vaśikṛta-samasta-sāmantaṁ*); one who had his *mantrīmaṇḍala* under his control (*āyattamantrīmaṇḍalaṁ*) ; one who had won over his friends (*upagrahītamitravargaṁ*) ; and one who had appointed trusted men in his forts (*āptapuruṣādhiṣṭhitadurgaṁ*).[2]

If everything be taken into consideration, we find that the life of the Paramāra king was actually a judicious mixture of duty and pleasure. The burden of the care of his kingdom (*rājyapālana*) and study of the *śāstras* (*śāstravichāra)* was lightened by his hobbies like horse-riding, witnessing elephant-fights, practising archery, witnessing the practice of warfare and learning the use of arms.[3] Light amusements and sports like hunting, roaming through woods, water sports, the company of the beloved, meeting of friends and witnessing dramatic performances were equally important for him.[4] All these speak of the proficiency of the Paramāra king in the aforesaid arts and sciences and the best among them could claim to be not only princes and statesmen, but also warriors, poets, scholars, artists and connoisseurs of art. Vākpati II has been described as the 'abode of all the virtues'.[5] Bhojadeva I is said to be one who 'accomplished, ordered, gave and knew what was not in the power of any body else'.[6] King Naravarman is described as 'sagacious in sustaining virtue, the limit of princes, by whom *dharma* which is one footed (in *Kaliyuga*), was rendered multi-footed by shares of villages which he every morning bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas'.[7] Dhārāvarṣa, the king of Abu, is said to have been 'well-versed in the (knowledge of the) *śāstras* and clever in the use of weapons. He was a man of very dominating personality and exercised strong virtuous influence over his people whom he had won over by

1 *Vyavahārakāṇḍa,* Intro., p. 129.
2 *TM,* pp. 14-16.
3 *SMK,* p. 35.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *IA,* VI, p. 51 ; *vide ante* Chap. V.
6 *EI,* I, p. 235, v. 18 ; *vide ante* Chap. VI.
7 *JAOS,* VII, p. 26, v. 10 ; *vide ante* Chap. VII.

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love'.[1] Even if there be some exaggeration in the description of the princes given by their panegyrists, the high ideals which were prescribed as objectives to be pursued by them will still raise them above the level of ordinary rulers.

Kingship under the Paramāras was hereditary. The eldest son was generally made the heir-apparent. He was called *Yuvarāja*, *Mahākumāra* or *Mahārājakumāra*. We find no definition of a *Yuvarāja's* duties in the contemporary works. A fond father left much to his son.[2] The *Yuvarāja* may have helped the king in running the administration and after the latter's death ascended the throne. The age at which a *Kumāra* was made a *Yuvarāja* was probably above sixteen years.[3] In the absence of the son, the younger brother of the king succeeded to the throne. It seems that if the circumstances demanded, this rule of succession could be changed. Vākpati II made his nephew Bhoja his *Yuvarāja*, though his younger brother Sindhurāja was alive.[4] It is true that Sindhurāja ruled after the death of Vākpati Muñja, but this was done perhaps on account of the fact that his son Bhoja was yet a minor.[5] *Mahākumāra* Lakṣmīvarman's principality was inherited by his grandson Udayavarman, though *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra, the son of Lakṣmīvarman and father of Udayavarman was alive.[6] Sometimes the right of the king's son was over-ruled in favour of his brother *viz*, Dhārāvarṣa made his younger brother Prahlādana his *Yuvarāja* though the former had a son named Somasiṁha.[7] If the king died on the battlefield without leaving any male issue or without making any arrangement to appoint an heir-apparent, his nearest relatives laid claim to the throne.[8] Many times such situations led to wars and instances are not wanting in the Paramāra history when wars of succession were fought

1 *EI*, XXXII, p. 137 ; *vide ante* Chap. XI.
2 *TM*, p. 65.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Vide ante* Chap. V.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Vide ante* Chap. VIII.
7 *Vide ante* Chap. XI.
8 Jayasiṁha I, the successor of Bhoja I, was perhaps a relative of the latter.

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between the different members of the royal family.[1] Sometimes it seems the king may have abdicated in favour of his heir-apparent, though we do not have any clear evidence on the point.[2]

As to the role of the queens in the Paramāra administration, the inscriptions do not enlighten us much. Mostly we hear of them in connection with donations and charities. In the seraglio she had a special position and her status in public was indicated by the use of gold (coloured) sticks by her *pratīhāras*, umbrellas, *chāmaras* and other insignia of royalty.[3]

The Paramāra court included two types of people, some who helped the king in the work of administration and others who simply administered to his personal comforts. The highest position no doubt went to the ministers and the generals ; but the position of officers like the *Pratīhāras*, the *Antarvaṁśikas* and the like was by no means very much lower. They served the king as did the others, were as close to him as any one else, and therefore to be respected or feared as much as others.

From the description of courts in literature and contemporary inscriptions, we find that the *bāhirupasthāna*,[4] or the Diwān-i-Ām as we might call it, was attended by the *mantrins*, *Sainyanāyakas*, *Mahāpratihāras*, *Mahāpurohitas*, *Dharmastheyas*, learned Brāhmaṇas, great poets, *vandiputras* or bards, reciters of Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa poetry, expert physicians, scholars proficient in *nāṭya-śāstra*, astrology and *svapnavijñāna*; *narma-sachivas*, courtesans, king's relatives and friends, in short by some member or the other who mattered to the king.[5]

1 *Cf.* King Udayāditya had to fight against his own kinsmen who had become very powerful after the death of Bhoja I.

2 After the sack of Mānyakheṭa in 972 A.D., we do not hear anything about Sīyaka II. He was living in 972 A.D. and his son Vākpati II was ruling in 973 A.D. (*Vide ante* Chaps. IV and V). Perhaps Sīyaka II abdicated his throne in favour of his son. We have no information as to what happened to Sindhurāja after his marriage with Śaśiprabhā. It is not unlikely that he too may have abdicated in favour of his son Bhoja I. King Jayavarman II is said to have abdicated and put his son on the throne (?), when his kingdom was invaded by Mahādeva, the Yādava ruler. *Vide ante* Chap. X.

3 *TM*, p. 280.

4 *Kavalayamālā*, p. 16, l. 28.

5 *TM*, pp. 12-14 ; *SMK*, p. 1.

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Next in importance to the king were the *mantrins* or the ministers. An ideal king was supposed to leave the work of administration to his *amātyas*.[1] The ministers were to be adept in the Dharmaśāstras, they were to follow the examples of the elders and were to be men of benevolent motives, they were the ones who could feel the nerve of the people and be capable of administering in accordance with the wishes of the people without causing pain to any one.[2] The ancient Hindu writers on polity recommended a council of ministers, *amātyas* and heads of various departments to assist the king in running the administration of the state. The *Nītivākyamṛta* of Somadeva who flourished in the 10th century A.D., recommends the appointment of 3, 5 or 7 councillors.[3] According to Manu and Somadeva, the king should have either 7 or 8 ministers.[4] We are not aware as to whether a regular ministry existed in the Paramāra kingdom or not, but we do come across the names of a number of officers who evidently assisted the king in the transaction of the business of the state. Their number and importance must have, however, differed according to the size of the state and the ruler they advised. Very often they were hereditary and an old experienced minister could be regarded not only as a friend but as a *guru* and infallible guide.[5] But the last word always rested with the ruler. The *mantrins* were not like the modern cabinet, they had no collective responsibility. They acted in their individual capacity and advised the king on their own individual responsibility.

In the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla, we find a minister designated as the *Buddhisachiva*.[6] His duty, as the designation implies, must have been to give advice to the king. From this it may be inferred that the Paramāra kings adopted the old method of appointing two categories of ministers, *viz*, the *buddhisachiva* or *matisachiva* or *dhīsachiva i.e.* minister whose duty it was to give counsel to the king on state matters; and the *karmasachiva*

1 *TM*, p. 14.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *NVA*, XVIII, v. 6,

4 *MS*, VII, 54-56 ; *Mānaso*, I, *Vim*, II, *Adh*, 2, v. 57.

5 *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 9, l. 24.

6 *TM*, p. 13.

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i.e. minister whose duty it was to assist the king in the execution of the state policy.[1]

The designations of the ministers that we find in the Paramāra inscriptions and the contemporary literature, may be listed as follows :

The *Mahāpradhāna* (Chief Minister) was the highest officer of the state who held charge of the royal seal and exercised general supervision over all the departments, especially the revenue. Generally he was the most trusted and influential member of the ministry. Some of the Paramāra *Mahāpradhānas* known to us are, Rudrāditya, the chief minister of Vākpati II, Puruṣottama[2] who was the *Mahāpradhāna* of Yaśovarman,[3] and *Rāja* Ajayadeva who served Jayavarman II.[4]

The *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* was, as his name implies, the Minister for War and Peace. He was to be adept in the sixfold policy, a judge of what was expedient and a diplomat.[5] He received envoys of friendly courts and ushered them into the king's presence; dealt also with the envoys of the hostile court, drafting threatening letters to the enemy.[6] In addition to this, he was required to draft royal charters and dispatches.[7] Generally good scholars were appointed to this post. Bilhaṇa and Rājasallakhaṇa were the Ministers of War and Peace for king Arjunavarman.[8] The Paramāra feudatories had their own offices of war and peace, controlled by the *Sandhivigrahakas.*

[1] (i) According to the *Amarakośa* there are two types of *amātyas i.e.* an *amātya* who is a *dhīsachiva* is called a *mantrin*, while an *amātya* other than a *mantrin* is called *karmasachiva*, *cf.* मन्त्रीधीसचिवोऽमात्यो ऽन्येकर्मसचिवास् ततः । *Amarakośa*, II, *Kṣatriyavargaḥ*, v. 4.

(ii) Rudradāman in his Junāgarh inscription states that his great enterprise to repair the Sudarśana lake was disapproved of by his *matisachiva* and *karmasachiva*. *EI*, VIII, p. 44, l. 17.

[2] *Pc*, p. 22.

[3] *IA*, XIX, p. 349.

[4] *EI*, IX, p. 123.

[5] The description of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* is interesting in view of the office being held by Lakṣmīdhara himself. *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 26.

[6] Handiqui, K.K., *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 107.

[7] This is the role assigned to him by the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.

[8] *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378 ; *JAOS*, VII, p. 25.

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Yogeśvara, for instance was the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Yaśovarman,[1] and Vāman was the *Sāndhivigrahika* of Vijayarāja, the Paramāra ruler of Vāgaḍa.[2]

The officer known as the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* has been the subject of some controversy among various scholars.[3] As far as the Paramāra dominions are concerned, our best guide may be the *Tilakamañjarī* wherein the same officer *i.e.* Vajrāyudha has been called *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahādaṇḍādhipati*, *Vāhinipati*, *Sainyapati* and *Senādhipa*.[4] This proves without any doubt that the *Daṇḍanāyaka* in this period was primarily a military officer though he could be and might have been now and then entrusted with some other duties as well.[5]

The *Tilakamañjarī* also speaks of a *Daṇḍanāyaka* of *Uttarapatha*[6] and a *Daṇḍanāyaka* for *Dakṣiṇapatha*,[7] which suggests that the Paramāras, for the sake of the effective administration, had adopted the system of zonal commands. The great Paramāra ruler Bhoja, during whose time the *Tilakamañjarī* was written,[8]

[1] *EI*, XIX, p. 73, ll. 44-45.

[2] *EI*, XXI, p. 54, v. 29.

[3] The word *daṇḍa* means 'fine' and 'a rod of chastisement' as well as 'army' or 'force' ; so the designation *Daṇḍanāyaka* has been interpreted as 'trying magistrate' (Prinsep) ; 'the great leader of the forces' (Fleet) ; 'prefect of police' (Auriel Stein) ; 'the chief judge or chief officer of police' (Marshall) and 'military officer' (Mirashi and Altekar).

[4] *TM*, pp. 66, 73, 74, 75, 78, 237.

[5] The *Daṇḍanāyaka* appears at times to have been an officer of the status of a Colonel stationed in different districts or villages in charge of local army units to help the local authorities in maintaining law and order (Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 196).

Sometimes a *Daṇḍanāyaka* was invested with the administration of a province *viz*, after the defeat of Paramāra Dhandhūka, the ruler of Arbuda, *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vimala was appointed as the governor of Arbudamaṇḍala by the Chaulukya King Bhīma I (*EI*, IX, pp. 155-56).

Daṇḍanāyaka Mādhava was also the *Tantrapāla i.e.* governor stationed at Ujjain, during the reign of the Pratīhāra ruler Mahendrapāla II (*EI*, XIV, p. 185). The investment of the civil administration in the hands of a *Daṇḍanāyaka* was a political exigency and not the general practice at least in N. India. That a newly conquered or half subjugated territory should be left in the hands of a military officer is nothing astonishing, it is the general practice even in modern times.

[6] *TM*, p. 148.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[8] *Vide* Chap. VI and XVI.

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at least, might have had two *Daṇḍanāyakas*,[1] one for the north and the other for the south.[1]

The Maser inscription of the Śulkī chief refers to one *Tantrādhipa* of Muñja[2] (Vākpati II (?)). The term *Tantrapāla* is of common occurrence in the Pratīhāra inscriptions and the inscriptions of their feudatories.[3] From a reference in the *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* with regard to a *Tantrapāla*,[4] it seems that the latter was a very important officer of the state. His duties probably included looking after his master's interests in the territories entrusted to him and using diplomacy as well as force according to the requirements of the situation.[5]

The *Mahāpratīhāra* (Lord Chamberlain), known also as *Dauvārika*,[6] has always held a very high place at the Indian courts. He was in constant attendance on the king and so must have wielded considerable influence with his master. The *Tilakamañjarī* gives a very graphic account of the duties and functions of the *Mahāpratīhāra*. It shows the *Mahāpratīhāras* 'imposing a vow of silence on those who talked much', 'making all officials do their duty', 'turning out people who had no right to be there', 'asking those who stood to sit down', 'showing respect with folded hands to those who deserved it', 'threatening the impudent ones' and 'bearing themselves with pride everywhere'.[7] As a master of ceremonies he must have taught the right mode of salutation to

[1] That this type of zonal division was not uncommon in medieval times is proved by the fact that a little before the Paramāras, the imperial Pratīhāras, according to the Arab accounts, are supposed to have organised their army under four commanders *viz*, the army of the north warring against the Prince of Multan and the Muslims, his subjects on the frontier ; the army of the south fighting against Balhara, the king of Mankir and two other armies ready to march against the enemies in every direction (*HIED*, I, pp. 21-23). For more details see our paper. *The office of the Daṇḍanāyaka* in *PIHC*, 1961, pp. 71-74.

[2] *EI*, XXIX, p. 28.

[3] *EI*, XIV, pp. 176-83 ; *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, III, no. 234, l. 36 and no. 235, ll. 50-53.

[4] The *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* (p. 583) regards *vyavasāya* (exertion, perseverance) as the function of a *Tantrapāla*. Elsewhere a *Tantrapāla* is found defeating his enemies (*ibid.*, p. 454). He is also described as a *Mahīpati* (*ibid.*, p. 232).

[5] Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

[6] *TM*, p. 58, l. 10.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

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the novices,[1] for this too might grow into a complicated affair, and then escorted them out. According to Lakṣmīdhara, the *Pratīhāra* should have fine presence, tact, charm and suavity.[2]

The *Rājaguru* (Preceptor of the king) though not included among the ministers, exercised a great influence in the court of the Paramāra kings. He was consulted in important matters and was often entrusted with various kinds of work befitting his position.[3]

The *Mahāpurohita* or *Purohita* (Chief Priest) was generally the ruler's adviser in religious matters. Well-versed in the Atharvaṇa lore, he was expected to ward off all the evils by means of rites and incantations.[4] He also supervised the studies of the Brāhmaṇa students.[5]

Besides these officers, who perhaps enjoyed the rank of *mantrins*, we come across some other *adhikārins*[6] or governmental officers.

We hear of the *Dharmastheya* (judicial officer) in the *Tilakamañjarī*,[7] and the term stands for the justices. The highest among them must have been the *Mahādharmastheya*. His main function was to advise the king in judicial matters and to prevent injustice being done.

The *Tilakamañjarī* mentions elsewhere another high officer, *Akṣapaṭalika* Sudṛṣṭi, who shows to prince Harivāhana, the grant mentioning all the *maṇḍalas* with their cities granted to the latter.[8] The *Akṣapaṭalika* seems to have been the head keeper of the accounts who kept a full account of the income of the state and also of its expenditure[9]. He also registered grants of the *jāgīrs* and was also the chief of the record office.[10]

The *Dūtaka* or *Dāpaka* is mentioned in the Paramāra inscriptions. He was a high officer or delegate who conveyed the ruler's

1 *TM*, p. 57-58.
2 *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 25.
3 *Cf.* the Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman was written by *Rājaguru* Madana, *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378, last line.
4 *TM*, pp. 12-13 ; *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp. 164-66.
5 *TM*, p. 55.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 237, l. 16.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
9 *Cf.* आयव्ययज्ञो लोकज्ञो देशोत्पत्ति विशारदः । *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 25.
10 Handiqui, K.K., *op. cit.*, p. 109.

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sanction of a charter to local officials,[1] who then had the charter drawn up and delivered.

The *Lekhaḥ-hāraka's*[2] duty was to carry the king's *lekha i.e.* letters. He may be compared with the Kauṭilyan class third *dūta i.e.* the *Śāsanahāraḥ*.[3]

The *Koṣarakṣaka* was perhaps the keeper of the royal treasury.

In addition to these, there were some other members of the royal court who were in close contact with the king, being responsible for attending to the personal comforts of the king and his family.

Among them the *Mahāvaidya* (chief physician) occupied a high place at the royal court. His main concern must have been the health of the ruler, his household and any one in whom the king might be interested.[4]

The *Aṅgarakṣaka's*[5] (bodyguard) duty was to guard the person of the king.

The *Śayyāpālaka*[6] was perhaps supposed to guard the bed of the ruler. The *Vandiputra*[7] (bard) was the royal bard. The *Narmasachiva*[8] was perhaps supposed to entertain the king. The *Antarvaṁśika*[9] was in charge of the royal seraglio. The State astrologer seems to be an important official as according to the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, his house was to be near the king's palace.[10]

All these members together with the *sāmantas*, *maṇḍaleśvaras*,[11] poets, learned men, king's friends and favourites as well as the

1 Sometimes this office was combined with that of a *Mahāpradhāna* or *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *cf. Mahāpradhāna Rājaśrī* Ajayadeva was the *Dūtaka* of the Māndhātā grant of Jayavarman II (*EI*, IX, p. 123). *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Paṇḍita* Bilhaṇa was the *Dūtaka* of the Māndhāta plates of king Devapāla (*Ibid.*, pp. 112-13).

2 *TM*, p. 156.

3 *Arthaśāstra*, I, Chap. XVI, p. 29.

4 *New Light on the Vaidyaka Literature*, *IHQ*, XXIII, pp. 120 ff.

5 *TM*, p. 12.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

10 *Vāstuśāstra*, p. 362.

11 For these, see below our account of the feudatory chiefs.

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courtesans, must have added splendour to the Paramāra court and given it the representative character indicated above.[1]

The kingdom of the Paramāras of Malwa was known as Mālavadeśa and for the purpose of administrative convenience it was divided into a number of *maṇḍalas* which were governed by the governors, who were perhaps of two types, *i.e.* the feudatory chiefs and the ordinary governors, the former though deprived of their independence retained some of their lands.[2] We come across the names of the following *maṇḍalas* in the Paramāra inscriptions:

Pūrṇapathaka-*maṇḍala*[3]
Ārddhāṣṭa-*maṇḍala*[4]
Vyāpura-*maṇḍala*[5]
Hūṇa-*maṇḍala*[6]
Upendrā-*maṇḍala*[7]
Sthalī-*maṇḍala*[8]
Vindhya-*maṇḍala*[9]
Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*[10]
Saṅgamakheṭaka-*maṇḍala*[11]
Avanti-*maṇḍala*[12]
Nīlagiri-*maṇḍala*[13]
Sīharā-*maṇḍala*[14]
Uparahāḍā-*maṇḍala*[15]
Maru-*maṇḍala*[16]
Arbuda-*maṇḍala*[17]
Chachchuroṇī-*maṇḍala*[18]
Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala*[19]

The *maṇḍalas* were further divided into *viṣayas* and *bhogas* which are the equivalents of modern districts. We are unable to establish the exact relationship between a *viṣaya* and a *bhoga*.

1 *Vide*, pp. 208-09.
2 See below our account of the feudatory chiefs.
3 *EI*, III, p. 48.
4 *EI*, XXXIII, p. 197.
5 *EI*, II, p. 188.
6 *EI*, XXIII, p. 108.
7 *EI*, XX, p. 106.
8 *EI*, XI, p. 182 ; *IA*, XLI, p. 201.
9 *IA*, XVI, p. 254.
10 *IA*, XIX, p. 352; *EI*, XXIV, p. 232.
11 *PTAIOC*, 1919, p. 319.
12 *EI*, XXIII, p. 112.
13 *JASB*, VII (1838), p. 737.
14 *IHQ*, 1961, p. 163, l. 2.
15 *IA*, XX, p. 84 ; *ASI*, X, p. 31.
16 *IA*, LXI, p. 136.
17 *EI*, IX, p. 13.
18 *EI*, XXIII, p. 135.
19 *EI*, XIX, p. 242.

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Viṣaya may have been an intermediary unit between a *maṇḍala* and a *bhoga*.[1] We do not get the name of an officer in charge of a *viṣaya* or *bhoga* in the Paramāra inscriptions. He may have been *Viṣayapati* and *Bhogapati* respectively.[2]

Each *viṣaya* or *bhoga* was further divided into a number of *pathakas*, each of which contained many cities, towns and villages. The *pathakas* were further divided into *pratijāgaraṇakas* which were the prototype of the modern Parganas. The *pratijāgaraṇaka* seems to be a fairly important administrative unit under the Paramāras as their inscriptions speak of a number of *pratijāgaraṇakas viz*,

Mandāraka-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[3]
Nāgadaha-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[4]
Varddhanāpura-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[5]
Saptaśiti-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[6]
Mahuaḍa-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[7]
Narmadāpura-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[8]
Śakapura-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[9]
Pagārā-*pratijāgaraṇaka*[10]

Each *pratijāgaraṇaka* was further split up into a number of groups of villages. Each group was usually named after the chief village and the number of villages constituting the group was indicated too. For instance, we have Vikhilapadraka-twelve, Voḍāsaśataka-forty-eight, Nyāyapadra-seventeen, Bhriṅgari-chatuḥṣaṣṭi, Bhūmigriha-paśchima-dvipaṁchhśatka etc.

The *grāma* or the village was the lowest territorial unit in the Paramāra administrative set up. The names of the villages usually ended with *padra*, *padraka* and *grāma*, *viz*, Dādra-*padra*, Vikhila-*padra*, Nyāya-*padra*; Vaṭa-*padraka*, Kadamba-*padraka*; Vaghāḍi-*grāma*, Kumbhadaṇḍa-*grāma*, Doṅgara-*grāma*, Nava-*gāṁva*, Śāyanapāṭa-*grāma*, etc. The village granted to the Brāhmaṇas was known as *agrahāra* village and the village

[1] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. cxxxiv.
[2] Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya calls the officer over *bhoga* as *Bhogapati*, *Yājña*, V, v. 320.
[3] *EI*, XX, p. 106.
[4] *EI*, XXXII, p. 153, l. 90.
[5] *Ibid.*, l. 88.
[6] *Ibid.*, v. 89.
[7] *EI*, IX, p. 109.
[8] *IA*, XVI, p. 254.
[9] *JASB*, V (1836), p. 358.
[10] *JAOS*, VII, p. 27.

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inhabited by the Brahmaṇas was known as *brahmasthāna* or *brahmapurī*. The affix *Śrī* was often added to the capital towns[1] as *Śrī*-Dhārānagarī and *Śrīmaty-Ujjayinī*.[2] The names of the towns ended with *pura*, *purī*, *nagara* and *nagarī*.

The Paramāra kingdom included the territory administered by the feudatory princes or chiefs who were known by the generic title of *māṇḍalikas*, but sometimes they styled themselves as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras*, *maṇḍaleśvaras*, *narendras*, *nṛpas*, *mahākumāras*, *mahāsāmantas*, *sāmantas*, *rājaputras*, and *ṭhakkuras*. The Paramāra court was full of feudatory chiefs and the Paramāra kings are described as the ones 'whose feet were reddened with the lustre of the jewels in the crowns of the kings who bowed at the feet of the Paramāra king'.[3] The feudatory chiefs took their seats in the royal court according to their grades.[4] A study of the Paramāra inscriptions and the contemporary literature reveals the existence of the following types of the feudatory chiefs in the Paramāra kingdom :

The first category of the feudatory chiefs consisted of those officers who were rewarded by the king with land in consideration of their valuable services. The *Tilakamañjarī* speaks of the grant of the whole of *Uttarapatha*, along with the chief towns and villages of Kashmir, to prince Harivāhana as his *kumārabhukti*, the grant of Aṅga to his companion Samaraketu and of the land to the west of it as being in the *jāgīr* (*vilaṁbhaka*) of the *Senānī* Kamalagupta.[5] Sometimes such offices were hereditary. *Sādhanika* Anayasiṁha of the Chāhamāna family was granted a *jāgīr* by Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II,[6] and it seems that his predecessors too had served as *Sādhanikas* (*i.e.* cavalry officers) and enjoyed the *jāgīr* under the Paramāras.[7] Instead of paying the officers monetary allowances for their services— which

1 *IA*, XIX, p. 353.
2 *Ibid* ; *EI*, XXIII p. 112.
3 *Cf.* the Nagpur *praśasti*, *EI*, II, p. 185, v. 29.
4 According to the *Mānasollāsa*, 'while the *kumāras* and the priests sat in front of the king, the *maṇḍaleśvaras*, *sāmantāmātyakas i.e.* feudatory princes and their ministers in front of the king on the right and the left sides'. *Mānaso*, II, *Viṁ*, III, *Adh*, II, vv. 3-6.
5 *TM*, pp. 84, 148.
6 *EI*, XXXII, p. 152.
7 *Ibid.*

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was not feasible in a predominently agricultural economy—the king simply distributed the authority to collect revenue and retained a portion of it as his remuneration.[1]

To the second category belonged those feudatory chiefs who had not unoften built up their own principalities during the period of general aggrandisement, though they acknowledged the supremacy of the premier line and had its goodwill. With regard to them the Paramāra kings, to a great extent, followed the sage advice of the ancient writers who lay down that the relatives of the king are to be accorded such treatment by the king as not to give rise to any dissatisfaction or difference of opinion. They recommend that the king should arrange for their heirs the same kind of comforts and enjoyments as for himself and should be strict in command in satisfying them with umbrellas and thrones. To this category belonged the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa, the Paramāras of Kirāḍū and perhaps the Paramāras of Jalor.[2]

The third category of the Paramāra feudatory chiefs comprised princes who had carved out their principalities by the force of their own arms in defiance of the central authority during the difficult days of the Paramāras. In this category came the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* who, though they used the subordinate titles *Mahākumāra*, and *Pañchamahāśabdālaṁkṛta*, were for all practical purposes independent and never even cared to mention the name of the contemporary Paramāra overlord in their public records.[3] Such powerful feudatory chiefs flourished mostly during the period of the decline of the Paramāra power.

To the fourth category belonged those chiefs who were defeated and forced to accept the suzerainty of the Paramāras and were given the status of a vassal. The vanquished chieftains were allowed to pay tribute which was a percentage of revenues collected by him. According to the *Tilakamañjarī* the dispossessed kings came and took service with the sovereign lord.[4] Such princes must have always been eager to free themselves whenever there was an opportunity. In this case the relations

1 Sharma, R.S., *Indian Feudalism : c.* 300-1200, pp. 180-83, 186, 263-64.
2 *Vide ante* Chap. XI.
3 *Vide ante* Chap. VIII.
4 *TM*, p. 84.

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between the suzerain and the vassal rested absolutely on the force one could use. For instance we may take the Guhilas of Mewar who, when defeated by Vākpati II, accepted the Paramāra suzerainty[1] but tried to re-establish their lost position during the period of confusion which followed the death of Bhoja I.[2]

These intermediaries who owed fiscal and military obligations became the overlords of areas or parts of the kingdom. The authority of these intermediaries was derivative, dependent on the fulfilment of certain conditions. According to A.S. Altekar and B.P. Majumdar the most important duties of the feudatories were to mention the name of the overlord ; to attend the imperial court on ceremonial occasions ; to pay regular tributes; to give presents on festive occasions and when daughters were married and to send a certain number of troops to the aid of the overlord.[3]

The name of the overlord was mentioned, however, only during the period when the central authority was strong. The omission of the name of the overlord was a common feature of the periods of succession of the weak rulers.[4] That the feudatory chiefs had to attend the imperial court is clear from the contemporary literature. The *Tilakamañjarī* states that the

[1] An inscription dated 1000 A.D. and 1008 A.D. gives the title *Mahāsāmantādhipati* to Vigraharāja Guhila of Nāgahṛda (*ARRM*, 1935-36, p. 2). This shows that some member of the Guhila family accepted a subordinate status under the suzerainty of some power. The invasion of Muñja taken along with the facts that we know of Bhoja's reign (*vide ante* Chaps. V and VI) suggest that in all probability the overlord of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Vigraharāja Guhila was the then ruling Paramāra ruler of Malwa. Raychoudhri, G.C., *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[2] That the Guhilas were successful in their efforts can be deduced from the fact that the Paramāra king Udayāditya gave his daughter Śyāmalādevī in marriage to Vijayasiṁha Guhila (1108-16 A.D.). *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

[3] Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 299 ; *SEHNI*, p. 26; Sharma, R.S., *op. cit.*, p. 192.

[4] *Cf.* In the first two inscriptions of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa *viz*, the Arthuna ins. (*EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310) and the Panhera ins. (*EI*, XXI, pp. 46-53), the imperial family of the Paramāras of Malwa is referred to, but in the inscription of Vijayarāja (*ibid.*, pp. 53-55), the name of the sovereign lord and his family is omitted evidently because during this period Malwa was being ruled over by weak kings.

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Paramāra court was full of *sāmantas*[1] and the same is the description in the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*,[2] wherein we are told that the feudatory chiefs were present even in informal gatherings like that of story-telling.[3] Many of the feudatory chiefs had their own houses in the imperial capital ; and the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* prescribes rules for the construction of the houses of the *sāmantas* which were to be in the neighbourhood of the royal palace.[4] That the chiefs had to pay tribute to the king is clear from the contemporary literature[5] and inscriptions.[6] The Paramāra kings, whenever they went on a campaign, were usually accompanied by their feudatories.[7] For instance, the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa fought in the cause of the imperial Paramāras of Malwa for more than once[8] and the Paramāras of Abu, Kirāḍū and Jalor, being the feudatory chiefs of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, laid down their lives in the cause of their masters many a times.[9]

The measure of internal autonomy enjoyed by the feudatory lords varied according to circumstances.[10] Big feudatory chiefs like the Paramāras of Arbuda-*maṇḍala* and the Paramāra *Mahākumāras* enjoyed large amount of internal autonomy. They could create their own sub-feudatories and appoint their own officers. They could assign taxes, alienate villages, exempt

1 *TM*, p. 13.

2 *SMK*, p. 11.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Vāstuśāstra*, p. 362.

5 The *Tilakamañjarī* describes the dispossessed kings, who accepted the vassalage of the sovereign lord, bringing presents for the king. *TM*, p. 84.

6 King Jajjaladeva of Ratnapura who was ruling in the neighbourhood of the Paramāra dominions, is said to have received annual tribute or presents from the chiefs of Dakṣiṇa Kośala, Andhra, Khimiḍī, Vairagarh, Lañjikā, Talahāri, Daṇḍakapura, Bhāṇāra, Nandāvolī and Kukkuṭa. *CII*, IV, ins. no. 77.

7 The *TM* of Dhanapāla has numerous references to show that the *sāmantas* invariably accompanied the lord in military expeditions (pp. 71, 74, 93, 100). The same impression is created by the *Pc* (pp. 17, 32, 80), which shows that along with the *mantrins*, the *sāmantas* constituted an important element of the body politic.

8 *Vide ante* Chap. XI.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 300.

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certain people from taxation without any reference to the imperial power.[1] Smaller feudatory chiefs enjoyed far lesser freedom. They were required to take permission for the alienation of land or land revenues, which was usually countersigned by the overlord.[2] Sometimes their overlords are seen granting away villages in their territories. King Sīyaka II is said to have granted two villages of Kumbhāroṭaka and Sīhakā in Mohaḍavāsaka which was a part of Kheṭakamaṇḍala, then ruled over by a subordinate chief of Sīyaka II.[3] King Naravarman gave twenty ploughs of land in a village of his feudatory Rājyadeva.[4]

If the feudatory lord found himself oppressed or humiliated he raised the banner of revolt and carved out a kingdom of his own. The feudatory lords who rebelled were, in the Paramāra dominion as well as in the neighbouring kingdoms, subjected to a number of indignities. Dhandhūka Paramāra had to leave his kingdom and take refuge with Bhoja I of Malwa because the former did not accept the exacting demands of his overlord, the Chaulukya King Bhīma I.[5] The Paramāra chief Vikramasiṁha of Abu was dethroned and replaced by his nephew, by Kumārapāla Chaulukya who suspected treachery on the part of Vikramasiṁha.[6]

It seems, however, that there was no hard and fast rule regarding the obligations of the feudatory chiefs of different categories. The general relations between the overlord and the feudatory chief depended upon circumstances and relative strength of the vassal vis-a-vis his suzerain.

The king honoured the feudatory lords with gifts of dress.[7] The latter also perhaps participated in the royal coronation. Lakṣmīdhara, quoting the *Brahma-Purāṇa*, states that at the time of the coronation bath, the *sāmantas* and the ministers held the umbrella and waved the fly-whisk.[8] This probably

1 *Vide ante* Chaps. VIII and XI.
2 *JASB*, VII (1838), pp. 736-39 ; *EI*, XXXII, pp. 155-56.
3 *EI*, XIX, p. 242.
4 *EI*, XX, p. 106.
5 *Vide ante* Chap. XI.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Mānaso*, II, *Viṁ*, III, *Adh*, IV, v. 38 ; *Viṁ*, IV, *Adh*, I, v. 7.
8 *Rājadharmakāṇḍa* on *Abhiṣeka*, p. 10.

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reflects the custom prevalent not only in Madhyadeśa but also in Avanti. Another practice which according to B.P. Majumdar was observed immediately after the coronation was the participation of the feudatory lords in the ceremonial dinner.[1] The title *pañchamahāśabda*[2] was conferred on very powerful feudatory chiefs and sometimes perhaps it was used by the powerful feudatory lords of their own accord without it being conferred upon them.[3]

It was usual for the feudatory chiefs also to distribute their lands among their dependants. In the *Tilakamañjarī* the princes Harivāhana and Samaraketu are said to have become *niśchinta* (free from anxiety) after having distributed among the *rājaputras* who served them, the towns and villages of their own *bhuktis* and this distribution was according to the *patratā* (merit) of the recipients.[4] The *ṭhakkuras* served the feudatory chiefs in almost all the feudatory states. For example, Vachchuka and Rāsala under *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra and Rāṇakāmma under Yaśovarman who received land grants from their respective masters, were rich enough to make donations to temples and deities in their own rights.[5]

The existence of powerful feudatory chiefs in the Paramāra dominions tended to weaken the central authority. The centrifugal tendencies were accentuated by the feudatory chiefs. The kings failed to put themselves at the head of the common people who were continuously being harassed by these chiefs.

[1] *SEHNI*, p. 20.

[2] There is a controversy as to what this title meant. According to the *Vivekachintāmaṇi*, *pañchamahāśabda* stood for five instruments *i.e. śṛṅga* or horn, *tammaṭa* or taliage, *śaṅkha* or conch, *bheri* or kettledrum, and *jayaghaṇṭā* or bell of victory (*IA*, XII, p. 96). In Kashmir, however, the title was conferred because the officer in question controlled five offices *i.e. mahāpratīhārapīḍa* (high chamberlain) *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister of war and peace or minister of foreign affairs), *mahāśvaśāla* (chief master of horses), *mahābhaṇḍāgāra* (high keeper of treasury) and *mahāsādhahabhāga* (chief executive officer). (See *RT*, IV, 140-43 and 680 ; Stein's ed., Vol. I, p. 133). Whatever may be the meaning of the *pañchamahāśabda*, it is certain that the title was conferred upon very powerful feudatory chiefs and they flourished mostly during the period when the power of their respective suzerains declined.

[3] *e.g.* the Paramāra *Mahākumāras*.

[4] *TM*, p. 84.

[5] *EI*, XXIV, pp. 225-34 ; *EI*, XIX, pp. 69-75.

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They rather preferred to take the support of one group of feudatory lords against the other group. Most of the feudatory chiefs were opportunists and were always trying to take advantage of the weakness of the central authority. When Bhoja the Great died, the difficulties of the Paramāra dynasty seem to have increased due to the selfish motives of the *sāmantas*.[1] They had no permanent bonds and were prepared to transfer their allegiance to a powerful invader in return for greater privileges. The *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* informs us that when the *sāmantas* Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa were sent to oppose Ballāla, the usurper of the throne of Malwa, they went over to the side of the latter.[2]

The ideal of kindness to the ruling family of the conquered region, which actuated the invader not to annex the territory and to install one of its scions to subordinate rulership, not only in the Paramāra state, but almost in all the Hindu states of that time, resulted in the instability of the political conditions.[3]

Further, the strength of the feudatory bonds depended upon the personality of the overlord. Monarchs like Paramāra Bhoja I, who went on expeditions to distant lands, had to entrust some of their capable generals with the administration of certain territories as feudatory chiefs. The personal relations between them might have been strong enough to keep the territories together for a generation or two. But in the course of time such personal relationship faded out and the feudatory chiefs tended to assert their independence.

As far as the military organisation of the Paramāras was concerned their army consisted both of the *maulas* and the *bhṛtas*. The *maulas* were, it seems, the hereditary soldiers and chiefs who depended for their subsistence on the land grants made by the king and thus were bound to serve the overlord.[4] The king presumably did not have direct relations with the soldiers maintained by the *maulas* for he did not grant land to the soldiers directly ; rather the king granted villages to the army chiefs who in their turn might have bestowed land upon

1 *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

2 *DV*, XIX, v. 98.

3 *SEHNI*, p. 34.

4 According to P.V. Kane, 'the *maulas* most probably consisted of persons, who and whose ancestors got tax-free land in lieu of military service'. *KHDh.* III, p. 200.

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the individual soldiers.[1] This is evidenced by the *Mānasollāsa* which states that the king should make sumptuous provision for the maintenance of the chiefs of the hereditary army by bestowing upon them a village or two at times.[2] These soldiers cultivated the land either personally or through others on the basis of crop-sharing.[3] The *bhṛtas* were those who were paid wages for their services ; they were near at hand and ever ready to march.[4] Of the two, the *maulas* were more reliable and so were preferred to the *bhṛtas*, who changed sides when they received higher wages from the other party.[5]

As a general rule the contingents of the feudatories constituted the bulk of the army. A part was also supplied by the hereditary military chiefs, the *maulas*.

Besides, there was *mitra-bala* or the forces of the friends, who could be rallied together whenever there was a common enemy. From the Paramāra inscriptions and literature we hear of a number of confederacies, formed between the Paramāra chiefs and their friends to crush down a common enemy.[6]

The Paramāra army consisted mainly of the infantry, cavalry and elephants.[7] Bhoja writes that the foot soldiers are the main source of strength on all occasions.[8] He was, however, not ignorant of the importance of cavalry, for the *Yuktikalpataru* refers to the horses from Tājakistān and Tuṣāra countries as the best and the Sindh horses as inferior.[9] Even when the Paramāra dynasty

[1] *SEHNI*, p. 43.

[2] *Mānaso*, I, *Vim*, II, *Adh*, VI, vv. 566-69.

[3] *SEHNI*, p. 43.

[4] *KA*, Bk, IX, Chap. II.

[5] But Bhoja I perhaps favoured a different course, for Udayāditya speaks of all his enemies being conquered by the *bhṛtyamātra*. He had no need to requisition the services of the *maulas* who, however, came into their own with the accession of Udayāditya. *EI*, II, p. 186.

[6] *Cf.* Bhoja, Gāṅgeyadeva Kalachuri and Rājendra Choḷa made a confederacy to fight against Jayasiṁha of the Chālukya family (*vide ante* Chap. VI). Later in the time of Devapāla, a confederacy was formed to fight against the Chaulukyas (*vide ante* Chap. IX).

[7] King Arjunavarman's inscription tells us that the king possessed three classes of combatants which obviously point to the three important divisions of the Paramāra army *i.e.* the infantry, cavalry and elephants. *JAOS*, VII, p. 26.

[8] *Yukti*, p. 7.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 182, vv. 26-28.

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was nearing its eclipse its armed forces amounted to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry.[1] Elephants formed an important source of military strength during our period and they accompanied the army on almost all the important occasions.[2] Chariots, though not a very important military force, were still in use as they are referred to in the *Yuktikalpataru*.[3] As a land-locked power, the Paramāras had probably no sea-going fleet, though they might have now and then pressed in use the navy of the friendly Śilāhāras.[4] They, however, used boats of various types on their rivers. The *Yuktikalpataru* gives elaborate directions for decorating and furnishing ships so as to make them quite comfortable for passengers. Four kinds of metals are recommended for decorative purposes *viz*, gold, silver, copper and the compound of all the three. Four kinds of colours are recommended respectively for four kinds of vessels, a vessel with four masts is to be painted white, that with three masts to be painted red, that with two masts is to be a yellow ship and the one masted ship must be painted blue.[5] The *Yuktikalpataru* has classified boats into two primary divisions, *viz*, the ordinary (*sāmānya*) and the special (*viśeṣa*). Of these the special type are further divided into two types named *dīrghā* (long) and *unnatā* (high). The *dīrghā* type consisted of the following varieties *viz*, *dīrghikā*, *taraṇī*, *lolā*, *gatvarā*, *gāminī*, *tari*, *janghālā*, *plāvinī*, *dhāriṇī* and *vegiṇī*. Of

[1] *HIED*, III, p. 76.

[2] *Cf.* (i) Muñja is said to have lost one thousand four hundred and seventy six elephants in his fight against the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī (*Pc*, p. 23).

(ii) After the conquest of Tripurī, king Lakṣmaṇadeva encamped on the banks of the Narmada, where his elephants alleviated the fatigue of battle by bathing int he river (*EI*, II, pp. 186-87, vv. 40-42).

(iii) King Arjunavarman, mounting on an elephant fought with the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha (*EI*, VIII, p. 102).

(iv) A Hoysaḷa inscription designated the Mālava king as the 'master of the elephants' (*EC*, VI, Kd, no. 156).

[3] *Yukti*, p. 7, v. 45.

[4] Dhanapāla gives a vivid description of the sea voyage of *Rājaputra* Samaraketū who is said to have conquered the people of the islands, for the latter did not pay the tax at regular intervals. *TM*, pp. 131-41; *Sārthavāha*, p. 220.

[5] Mookerji, R.K., *A History of Indian Shipping*, p. 17.

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these *lolā*, *gāminī*, and *plāvinī* caused much misery. The *unnatā* type had the following varieties *viz*, *ūrdhvā*, *anūrdhvā*, *svarṇamukhī*, *garbhiṇī* and *mantharā*. These vessels had their cabins towards the prows. They were made of wood, iron and brass.[1] They were used for civil as well as military purposes. The *Yuktikalpataru* declares that the king who has boats, wins the war and the king who through ignorance does not keep boats, loses his prestige, vigour and treasury.[2] We do not find any proof of the use of the air force by the Paramāras, as alleged by some writers.[3]

We get some information about the dress and manners of the early medieval Indian soldiers in general from the contemporary literature. The *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra states that the soldiers were heavily clad with helmet and iron nets, protecting separately the belly, thighs, arms and other parts of the body.[4] The *Yaśastilakachampu* of Somadeva describes the Indian regiment as 'of truthful speech and eloquent in the praise of the speed of horses. The men have bodies comely as heated gold and held fast in their hands knives, darts, daggers, spears, blades and bows. The surface of the earth shakes under the hooves of their horses galloping at top speed, so peculiar was their mode of riding. They wore *pugrees*, made up with multi-coloured scarves arranged in layers; with the crown of their heads adorned with clusters of flowers of endless

1 *Yukti*, p. 224, v. 74 ; *ibid.*, p. 225, vv. 96-100 ; *ibid.*, p, 226, v. 6.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 229, vv. 30-31 ; for more details see Mookerji, R.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 14-21.

3 D.N. Shukla says that Bhoja has devoted about 100 *ślokas* to the mechanism of aeroplanes or aerial cars (*vimānas*) in his *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*. According to Shukla these mechanical devices could move in all directions, namely in oblique direction, upwards, downwards, frontwise, sideways etc. They could move in heaven as well as on the earth. They were shaped like elephants, birds, monkeys, horses and chariots. Their body was made of light wood and iron ; lead, copper and other metals were used for the construction of various other parts. The secrets of the construction of these machines are however not disclosed by the author of the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (*Vāstuśāstra*).

But the text on which these statements of D.N. Shukla are based, deals with various kinds of palaces and buildings (*prasādas*) in the form of *vimānas* and not with aerial cars.

4 P. III, p. 367.

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varieties, they look like the sylvan abode of the goddess of victory'.[1]

The Paramāra soldiers used swords, *chakra* or disc, *śūla* and *parigha* as their weapons.[2] Bhoja refers to the relative quality of swords manufactured in Banaras, Magadha, Nepal, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Saurāṣṭra. The first and the last mentioned countries manufactured the best swords. Those produced in Magadha, Aṅga and Kaliṅga were the worst.[3] *Yantras*, which were installed in fortresses and used for throwing stones and which were in use as early as the *Mahābhārata*[4] have also been referred to by Bhoja in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*.[5] Such was the efficiency of these catapults that Bhoja remarks humorously that they can do everything that is possible to imagine and could even make a person dance and take part in a drama.[6]

The Paramāras seem to have taken good care of their forts. The walled cities and the walled villages were the common features of our times.[7] The famous forts of our period were Maṇḍapadurga,[8] Kośavardhana (*i.e.* Shergarh),[9] Dhārā and Jalor. The well-garrisoned cities baffled the enemy and the only alternative for the invader was a long siege.[10] The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* devotes a full chapter to the methods of construction of various types of forts.[11] Lakṣmīdhara suggests that the forts should not be overcrowded by having therein unnecessary people.[12] Among the means of defence, it is interesting to note his advice, were to keep deadly cobras in pots to be thrown on the attacking enemy and to have various

1 Handiqui, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
2 *Yukti*, p. 141, vv. 47-54.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 170, vv. 25-28.
4 *SEHNI*, p. 58.
5 *SS*, I, Chap. XXXI.
6 *Ibid.*, I, p. 174, v. 57.
7 In the *SMK* see the description of Dhārā and in the *TM* read the description of Ayodhyā.
8 *EI*, XXXII, p. 152, l. 83.
9 *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 136.
10 Jayasiṁha Siddharāja had to fight for 12 years against the Paramāra rulers Narvarman and Yaśovarman and in the end was able to break the gate of Dhārā city due to the treachery of a Mālava soldier. *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
11 *SS*, I, p. 31.
12 *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 45.

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condiments prepared from unnamed ingredients which have nourishing and hunger-resisting properties.[1]

As to the time of the expedition, the *Tilakamañjarī* favours *Śaradṛtu*.[2] Bhoja with Lakṣmīdhara and Someśvara holds that after consultation with the astrologers and watching the prognastics the king should start for his expedition.[3] The *Yuktikalpataru* also states that the king should perform the Nirājana festival in the month of *Aśvina* (September-October) for victory in the battle.[4] On the day of the battle, the king worshipped God Trivikrama, the weapons and the beasts of burden with the Nirājana-*mantra* and heard the recital of hymns conveying the idea of all round success.[5] The *yātrā* or march of the army was a colourful and spectacular affair. Dhanapāla gives a vivid account of the army on the march; villagers in general might have been entertained by the sight of the courtesans on elephants, the well-dressed merchants with umbrellas,[6] and the accidents that befell the soldiers; but the farmers whose fields lay on the way could have hardly entertained an army on the march. The *Sādhaṇikas* took away the straw from barns. The soldiers had to be kept off from the corn, they could ridicule the desire of the kitchen gardeners to reap the fruit of his labours and relieved the grower of the sugarcane of his crop without the least compunction. The villagers tried to conceal all they could. *Dhānya* (corn) was carried to the back-yard, vegetables were transferred to the house from the adjoining pleasure-grove, money was put in bronze vessels and carried to the house of the *Balādhikṛta*, to be kept as a *nyāsa* with his ladies.[7]

The royal camp was an elaborate affair. The wives of the big chiefs, the latter's concubines and prostitutes accompanied them and with them marched the merchants who supplied

1 *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, pp. 46-47.

2 *TM*, pp.96-97.

3 *Yukti*, pp. 176-77, vv. 78-87.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 178, vv. 88-94 ; *ibid.*, pp. 179-81, vv. 1-22 ; see also our account on festivals in Chap. XV.

5 *Yukti*, p. 178, vv. 88-94 ; *Mānaso*, I, *Vim*, II, vv. 1152-82 ; *Agni Purāṇa, Adh*, 236, vv. 16-23.

6 *TM*, p. 96.

7 *Ibid.*

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everything on the spot that the soldiers needed and made their lives comfortable. All this must have accounted for the slowness of the movement not only of the Paramāra army, but all the Rajput armies and thus presented a sad contrast to the lightning speed of the Turko-Afghan army.

The Paramāra methods of warfare were also out-dated. A frontal attack without the use of stratagem or tactics, which they seem to have followed, could be successful against other Rajput states in India, but it was of little use against the fast moving Turkish cavalry which, using its wings easily, surrounded an Indian army and dealt smashing blows to it from all sides. Being the true followers of tradition, the Paramāra monarchs believed only in the *dharmayuddha* and not in the *kūṭayuddha*.[1] This lack of *kūṭayuddha* on the part of the Paramāras might have been responsible for their defeat in the fight against the Turks.

As far as the army officers are concerned we have already discussed the functions of the *Daṇḍanāyakas* who are called by various names, all of them having reference to their command or leadership of army. Other military designations known to us are the *Balādhikṛta*,[2] *Sādhanika*[3] and *Mahāmātra*.[4]

1 *Kūṭayuddha* or war by secret and unregenerate methods is absolutely forbidden in *rājadharma*. An open and fair fight is expected. Yājñavalkya says that entry to heaven was open to those who fight fair and die in battle doing so (*Yājña*, I, 323).

Lakṣmīdhara's approval of the old principles of righteous war is reflected in his omission of authorities sanctioning *kūṭayudha* (*Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, Intro., p. 69). Considerate treatment was to be shown to the conquered enemy. The king's person being sacred, once defeated he was not to be slain. We are told that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja was dissuaded by his ministers from slaying Yaśovarman Paramāra after the latter's defeat (*vide ante* Chap. VII). Enemy subjects were immune from maltreatment and a defeated state was to be allowed to function normally though as a tributary. (*Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, Intro., p. 70). Popular opinion condemned inhuman treatment of the enemy. The harsh and ignominous treatment accorded to the heroic Vākpati II, after a number of successful campaigns, roused the indignation and horror of his contemporaries (*vide ante* Chap. V).

2 *TM*, p. 97.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 149 ; *SMK.* p. 40.

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Literally *Balādhikṛta* means an officer in charge of an army. The Tilakamañjarī however differentiates the *Balādhikṛta* from the *Senāpati* and makes him very much junior to the latter.[1] The *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* puts a *Balādhikṛta* in charge of a city[2] along with a *Mahattama*.[3] It seems that the former was put in charge of a military town.[4] The *Sādhanika* appears to have been in charge of a cavalry detachment and perhaps was stationed at important forts.[5] Lastly *Mahāmātra* was the commander of the elephant forces.

This administrative set-up of the Paramāras would have involved a good deal of state expenditure and consequently necessitated a well organised revenue system. Most of the Paramāra inscriptions speak of the grant of villages with *hiraṇya, bhāga, bhoga, uparikara, sarvādāya-sameta* or with *bhāga-bhoga-kara* or *kara-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhoga* etc., which were to last as long as the sun and the moon etc. endured. This proves that *bhāga, bhoga, hiraṇya* and *uparikara* were the most important taxes during our period.[6] In the list of the privileges assigned to the donee one inscription has *upaskara* in place of the usual *uparikara*,[7] while another adds the mysterious item *kalyāṇadhāna*.[8] An inscription of the Paramāras of Abu, dated 1230 A.D., mentions an interesting fact that king Somasiṁha

[1] *TM*, p. 148.

[2] *Upamiti*, p. 243.

[3] For the definition of this word see below pp. 237 and 240.

[4] *Maru Bhāratī*, VII, pt. II, p. 4.

[5] *Cf. Sādhanika* Anayasiṁha was living in Maṇḍapadurga in the time of king Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II. *EI*, XXXII, p. 152.

[6] U.N. Ghoshal treats *bhāga-bhoga-kara* as one term, meaning the king's share (*Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, p. 290). R.S. Tripathi, on the other hand, thinks that they were different taxes meaning respectively the king's grain-share or share of produce, enjoyment of the right of taking away grass etc. when the land lay fallow and rent payable in cash or kind (*THK*, p. 348).

Ghoshal ignored the fact that sometimes *bhāga* and *bhoga* do not go together and therefore have to be treated as different taxes. As regards Tripathi's view, there are numerous inscriptions in which the words *bhāga* and *bhoga* occur but the word *kara* is left out, not because *kara* had been abolished but because *bhāga-bhoga* could give the same meaning as *bhāga-bhoga-kara*.

[7] *JASB*, V, (1836), p. 379.

[8] *IA*, XVI, p. 255.

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of this dynasty remitted the taxes on the Brāhmaṇas.[1] This record proves conclusively that notwithstanding the most solemn injunctions of the law books to the contrary, the Brāhmaṇas had been made liable to taxation in the Paramāra dominions.[2]

We shall now discuss the taxes levied on the Paramāra subjects one by one.

Bhoga was the king's customary share of the produce which was traditionally fixed at 1/6 of the produce, but the rate could be altered as stated in the legal texts.[3]

Bhoga denoted the periodic offerings of fruits, fire-woods, flowers, milk and curd which the subjects had to make to the king or to his local agents.[4]

Uparikara has been interpreted as additional cess or tax which was to be given by the temporary tenants,[5] or petty taxes payable in kind.[6] V.V. Mirashi's interpretation however seems to be better who thinks that *uparikara* meant 'an additional tax' which might have included the miscellaneous taxes in kind which the traders and the artisans had to pay.[7]

Hiraṇya was perhaps a tax on some of the land produce which being perishable could not conveniently be put into share and had therefore to be paid in cash in contradistinction to the rest which were paid in kind.[8]

Śulka perhaps was next only to *bhoga* as a source of the royal revenue. Different authors have recommended different rates of *śulka*. Yājñavalkya states that the king is entitled to 1/20th

1 *EI*, VIII, p. 211.

2 See also our Chap. XV.

3 We do not have any information from the Paramāra sources regarding the rate of *bhāga*. Neither Lakṣmīdhara nor Someśvara lay down any pecific rate at which the land revenue was to be collected. The latter simply says that 1/6, 1/8 or 1/12 of the share of the produce should be collected as *bhāga* (*Mānaso*, I, *Vim*, II, vv. 113-47).

4 *AR*, pp. 212-16, Ghoshal, U.N.; *op. cit.*, p. 290.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 299.

6 *AR*, pp. 214-15.

7 *CII*, IV, Intro., p. cxli ; V.V. Mirashi along with A.S. Altekar thinks that *uparikara* and *bhoga* were one and the same tax. But as both these terms are used together in the Paramāra records, it proves that they were separate taxes.

8 That *hiraṇya* was paid in cash is suggested by *Pc* (p. 53) and the Baroda grant of Dhruva II. (*The Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, II, no. 127, ll. 33-34 ; see also *SEHNI*, p. 230).

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part as *śulka* because he fixes the price of the articles.[1] The *Agni Purāṇa* goes a step further in prescribing a higher rate of *śulka* on foreign merchants. Its recommendation is that so much *śulka* should be levied on goods as would leave the merchant a profit of 5% only.[2] *Śulka* was of two types (a) what was levied on goods carried by the land and collected at the *maṇḍapikā* and for this reason was known as *maṇḍapikādāya*[3] and (b) what was levied on the goods carried by water[4] and was called *ghaṭṭādāya*.[5]

That *maṇḍapikādāya* or octroi duty was prevalent in the Paramāra kingdom is proved by the Arthuna inscription of 1080 A.D. which refers to the following duties,[6] the income of which was granted to the deity :

(i) one *varṇikā* on each *bharaka* of candied sugar and jaggery ;
(ii) one *rūpaka* on each *bharaka* of Bengal madder, thread and cotton ;
(iii) one cocoanut on every *bharaka* of cocoanuts ;
(iv) one *mānaka* on every *mūṭaka* of salt ;
(v) one nut from every 1000 areca-nuts ;
(vi) one *palikā* for every *ghaṭaka* of butter and sesame oil ;
(vii) 1½ *rūpakas* on each *koṭikā* of clothing fabric ;
(viii) two *pūlakas* on every *jāla* (*i.e.* bunch of buds) ;
(ix) two *santas* on each *lagaḍā* (a bar of gold, silver or other metal) ;
(x) a *pāṇaka* on each *karṣa* of oil ;
(xi) a *vṛṣa-viṁśopaka* on each load of cattle-fodder ;
(xii) one *dramma* on every pile of sugar ;
(xiii) a *hāraka* of barley on a water-wheel ;
(xiv) one *chhaṅga* on every *bharaka* of loaded grain ;
(xv) one citron on each *lagaḍā* and
(xvi) a *vāpa* (a handful) on a *mūṭaka* or āṭavika of barley.[7]

1 *Yājña, Vyavahārādhyāya,* v. 261.
2 *Agni Purāṇa, Adh,* XXIII, vv. 23-24.
3 In the Shergarh inscription of 1017 A.D. (*EI,* XXIII, p. 140) we are informed that the merchants Narasiṁha, Govṛṣa and Thīrāditya made a daily gift of a *karṣa* of ghee to Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka out of the *maṇḍapikādāya.*
4 Mitākṣara on *Yājña, Vyavahārādhyāya,* v. 263.
5 *JAOS,* VII, p. 27.
6 *EI,* XIV, pp. 295-310.
7 *Ibid.,* pp. 302-03. vv. 69-81.

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The existence of *ghaṭṭādāya* or ferry duties in the riverine areas can be inferred from the Bhopal inscription of Arjunavarman.[1] These duties may have been collected by an officer known as the *Ghaṭṭapati*.[2]

That excise duty was levied in the Paramāra dominions is proved by the Arthuna inscription which refers to the levying of four *rūpakas* on each *vaṁvaka* of the distillers in the Paramāra kingdom.[3]

The road cess was known as *mārgādāya*.[4] The practice of collecting tolls and road cess for using highways was current among the Chaulukyas,[5] Gahaḍavālas[6] and Chāhamānas.[7] That it was imposed by the Paramāra kings is evidenced by the Panhera inscription, wherein we are told that king Jayasiṁha I assessed one *viṁśopaka* coin on every bull that passed through the road.[8] The Shergarh inscription informs us that Varaṅga, who was a *Mārgādāye-kauptika*,[9] made a donation of five *vṛṣabhas* (a type of coin) out of the *mārgādāya* in 1018 A.D. in favour of God Somanātha for the purpose of providing incense and sandal in the temple.[10]

The prevalence of trade tax is vouched for by the Arthuna inscription which refers to the levy of a *dramma* for the month on the shops of the braziers during the month of Chaitra and one *dramma* each on the house of the traders in the local bazar on the occasion of the Chaitra festival and the festival of the sacred thread.[11] Likewise, a *dramma* was levied on each traders' association.[12]

The Paramāras seem to have levied a tax on gambling. The Arthuna inscription informs us that two *rūpakas* were levied on every gambling house in the Bānswārā state.[13]

1 *JAOS*, VII, p. 27.
2 *CII*, Intro., p. cxlii ; *ibid.*, ins. no. 74, v. 34.
3 *EI*, XIV, p. 302, v. 74.
4 *EI*, XXIII, p. 140.
5 *Rās Māla*, p. 235 ; *IA*, VI, p. 204.
6 *EI*, XIV, pp. 194-95.
7 *EI*, XI, pp. 59-60.
8 *EI*, XXI, p. 48, vv. 44-45.
9 For the definition of this term see below p. 238.
10 *EI*, XXIII, p. 140.
11 *EI*, XIV, p. 302, vv. 73-74.
12 *Ibid.*, v. 77.
13 *Ibid.*, v. 75.

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House tax was also known in the Paramāra dominions. The Arthuna inscription informs us that every house of the whole population was taxed at the rate of one *dramma* each in the state.[1] House tax is also referred to in the Bhopal inscription of king Arjunavarman.[2]

Another tax was *cholapikā*.[3] It may have been an impost of fifty leaves or so on every *chollikā* brought from outside the town. In the Paṭanārāyaṇa inscription we are told that *Rājaputras* Gaṅgū and Karmasiṁha granted the revenue of *cholapikā* in the village of Maḍaulī for twelve *ekādaśīs* for the maintenance of the temple of Paṭanārāyaṇa.[4]

Shamhalātama(ka)-samanvita is a new revenue term which occurs in the Māndhātā inscription of king Devapāla,[5] and is not met with anywhere else. We are unable to offer any explanation for it.

Salt tax is referred to in the Bhopal inscription of Arjunavarman.[6]

These levies plus the tributes from the feudatories and the war booty which were pouring in the Paramāra treasury must have enriched the Paramāra monarchs to a considerable extent. Besides, the king also received money by way of fines or *daṇḍa* imposed upon the wrong doers.[7] The ruler perhaps had the right to exact forced labour.[8] The property of the man who died without a male issue and without making adequate arrangements for succession to his property, escheated to the ruler. The king was at the same time the master of all marshy land, woodland and jungles, mines and salt-pits, mango and *madhuka* groves, treasure troves and the like.[9] The Paramāra king may have also received *rājabhāvya* and different *bhāvyas* which the people had to pay for the services of the officers like the *Talāra* and the *Balādhipa*.[10]

1 *EI*, XIV, p. 302, v. 75.
2 *JAOS*, VII, p. 27.
3 Referred to in the Paṭanārāyaṇa inscription of the Paramāra ruler Pratāpasiṁha. *IA*, XLV, p. 79.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *EI*, IX, p. 112, ll. 72-73.
6 *JAOS*, VII, p. 27.
7 Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 281.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 280.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 282.
10 *Ibid.*

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We do not possess any specific account about the way the king spent his money. A good deal must have gone to the Brāhmaṇa donees, temples, monasteries, scholars and poets, and a considerable amount would have been spent on the warlike activities of the rulers. The *Mānasollāsa* suggests that the king should spend ordinarily $^3/_4$ of the yearly revenue and save $^1/_4$.[1]

The details regarding the Paramāra judiciary are very meagre. As we have seen above the king was the highest judicial authority in the state and his decisions were final. Following Manu, Lakṣmīdhara suggests that the king should spend a couple of hours daily in the hall of justice.[2] The king however gave no arbitrary judgment. He was assisted by learned Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in the *dharmaśāstras* and skilled in doing things that were appropriate to place and time,[3] and also by a class of judicial officers known as the *Dharmastheyas*, whose main duty was to see that no injustice was done.[4]

It seems that in the first instance the cases probably went to the village councils and quite a few of them were settled by the councils and the village elders. In the towns the matters sometime came before the *pañchakulas*,[5] who seem to have closely questioned the suspects. On the crime being confirmed the reports were submitted to the ruler by the *kāraṇikas*.[6] The formulation of the reports must have been influenced to a considerable extent by the city elders.

Equality before law was not the general rule in the society. Penal laws were very severe, death by execution or torture in various ways being the usual punishment.[7] Theft was a serious crime and the thieves were subjected to a number of tortures.[8]

[1] *Mānaso*, II, *Vim*, IV, vv. 539-40. [2] *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8; *Yajña, Vyavahārādhyāya*, v. 2.
[4] *TM*, p. 12.
[5] For the functions of the *pañchakulas* see below, p. 237.
[6] *Bṛhatkathākośa*, p. 301.
[7] The *Bṛhatkathākośa* (p. 301, vv. 112, 117) shows a thief being put on a stake. A man accused of deceitful measuring of corn is sentenced to lose his tongue, feet and hands. A herdsman accused of stealing cows under his charge pays for his offence by being hanged.
[8] The *Bṛhatkathākośa* shows a thief being subjected to thirty-two *vedanās* prescribed for the thieves (p. 326, v. 23).

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Lakṣmīdhara prescribes that the king should make good the loss sustained by a person whose property has been stolen.[1] Adulteration was also punished heavily. In the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* we find an oilman (*telī*) being arrested for adulteration. Though the oilman offered to pay a fine, he was not freed; on the other hand he was tortured and awarded heavy punishments.[2] Incidentally it also proves that the criminals were arrested before judgment. Criminals sometimes were bound with iron chains and put into jails.[3] Resort to ordeal was common during this period.[4]

The police system in a large measure fell within the jurisdiction of the *sāmantas* and the village councils. The *sāmantas* and the village councils were required to detect crime committed within their jurisdiction. The towns had their police officers like the *Talāras*[5] or the *Daṇḍapāśīkas*[6] whose duty was that of watch and ward of the town as well as of investigating a crime, arresting the criminal and producing him before the court.[7] They had also to keep a check on the unruly elements in the city and on the newcomers. They had to keep an eye on the courtesans as well as the people who visited them.[8]

In the towns and villages, whether they were directly under a ruler or a feudatory, considerable power lay in the hands of the people. The head officers of the city *i.e.* the *Mahattama*[9] and *Balādhikṛta* or *Sādhanika*[10] were assisted by the *pañchakulas*[11] and other non-officials who worked turn by turn[12] at the *sthāna*[13]

1 *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, p. 553.
2 *SMK*, p. 45.
3 *Upamiti*, pp. 276, 278.
4 *Vyavahārakāṇḍa*, pp. 207-08.
5 *IA*, LVI, p. 12.
6 *SMK*, p. 87.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*
9 He seems to have been responsible for the civil administration of the town. See below pp. 237 and 240.
10 He was responsible for the military administration and defence of the town. See above pp. 229-30.
11 It seems to be a prototype of the present Panchāyat.
12 We accept the interpretation of the *varaṇa* as turn and not as board.
13 *Sthāna* was the office where the records of the town were kept.

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in the different committees to manage the civil affairs of the town.[1]

The *pañchakula* or the committee of the five was the most important civil institution referred to in the inscriptions of the Paramāras of Abu and Marwar.[2] Such a committee was not something new to our country, it had come down from the Mauryan times.[3] The chief of the *pañchakula* is usually named in the inscriptions[4] and he perhaps presided over the meetings of the committee. The *pañchakulas* registered land grants and were associated with the administration of justice.[5] The Gujarat inscriptions and the *Lekhapaddhati* ascribe a number of functions to the *pañchakulas*.[6]

We also find references to the *Mahattamas* or *Mahattaras* which stand for the elders or the respectable men of cities and villages. It seems that the elders carried a lot of weight by their effective participation in the civic administration. They held their own meetings. An assembly of the elders of the town was known as *mahājana* in the Pratīhāra[7] and Chāhamāna dominions.[8]

Another important civic institution was the *maṇḍapikā i.e.* the office of the collectors of the tithes.[9] The work of the *maṇḍapikā*

1 The Bhinmāl inscription of the time of Paramāra Kṛṣṇarāja, dated 1060 A.D., refers to Kiriṇāditya, son of Jela of the Dhārakūṭa family, being office-holder in his turn for the current year. *BG*, I, pt. II, pp. 472-73, ins. no. IV.

2 *PRAS, WC*, 1910-11, p. 39.

3 According to Megasthenes the administration of Pāṭaliputra was controlled by a board of thirty, consisting of committees of 5 members each.

4 The Sirohi inscription refers to a grant of some *arahaṭṭas* and *drammas* to god Kākleśvara in Ajārī by the *pañchakula*, consisting of *Jagaddeva* and others. *PRAS, WC*, 1910-11, p. 39.

5 In the *kathā* no. 121 of the *Bṛhatkathākośa* one reads of a buffalo being suspected of stealing grass. The matter went before the *pañchakula* which decided that the buffalo should undergo the ordeal of carrying a red-hot ball of iron. *Bṛhatkathākośa*, p. 294, vv. 26-27.

6 For a detailed discussion on the *pañchakula* see, Majumdar, A.K., *op. cit.*, pp. 239-42.

7 *Samaraichchhakahā*, p. 112.

8 Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 203.

9 According to A.S. Altekar it got its name *maṇḍapikā*, for it dealt with the taxes of the local *maṇḍī* (*i.e.*, market) (*EI*, XXIII, p. 137). It

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was managed perhaps by a committee[1] under the supervision of an administrative officer known as *Śaulkika*,[2] the former representing the popular element of the town and the latter the official element. The inscription from Shergarh refers to three merchants as making a grant to the Bhaṭṭāraka Nagnaka of Somanātha temple in the year 1017 A.D. out of the *maṇḍapikā* tax.[3] These merchants seem to have constituted the town committee in charge of the collection as well as disbursement of the local taxes ; for thus alone they could have given a grant out of the *maṇḍapikā* tax which was the revenue of the state. In the very same inscription we have a reference also to a *Mārgādāye-kauptika* Varaṅga who made a grant to the temple out of the *mārgādāya*.[4] Thus the *Mārgādāye-kauptika* seems to be the administrative officer responsible for collecting tolls and the road cess and he may have been associated with the administration of the *maṇḍapikā*.[5]

As regards the guilds of which there may have been many in the Paramāra cities and towns, they managed the affairs of their respective communities and looked after the interests of their own members and their professions. In the Paramāra inscriptions we have references to the goldsmiths, *śreṣṭhins*, *sthapatis*, Nāga *baniyās*, Lāra *baniyās* and *telīs* in collective and representative forms, which show that the people of all the different classes and of different professions had their own guilds. The chiefs of these guilds could make endowments on behalf of their communities and were influential enough in the administration of the town. The Shergarh inscription records

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seems, however, that this institution got the name *maṇḍapikā* because the *Śulkādhyakṣa* set up his *śulkaśāla* most probably in a *maṇḍapikā* or a small tent near the chief gate of the city.

[1] Not only Megasthenes mentions a civic committee of five which collected the tithes, but Kauṭilya also states that the collectors of *śulka* should either be four or five and they should take down the details given by the merchants and then decide the cess on their basis, punishing and fining those who tried to defraud the state. *Arthaśāstra*, Bk, II, Chap. XXI.

[2] This term occurs in the Kalvan ins., *EI*, XIX, p. 73, l. 27.

[3] *EI*, XXIII, pp. 140-41.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] In this connection see also the Siyādoṇī ins. (*EI*, I, pp. 162-79), the account of which runs parallel to the account given by the Shergarh ins.

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three grants made by *Tailikarāja Ṭhakkura* Devasvāmin to the temple of Somanātha. These donations consisted of the entire produce of two oil mills to provide oil for the lamp in the Somanātha temple, daily gift of a *voḍī* for providing incense at the *parṇaśālā* and the monthly payment of two *varāhas* on the occasion of the *śaṁkrānti*.[1] As suggested by A.S. Altekar, *Tailikrāja* Devasvāmin made these grants not in his individual capacity but most probably on behalf of the guild of the *telīs* of which he might have been the chief representative[2] and was perhaps connected with the city administration at that time.

In the Moḍāsā plates of Paramāra Bhoja, dated 1011 A.D., there is a reference to one Brāhmaṇa donee named Derdda who is given the epithet *Chāturjātakīya*.[3] D.C. Sircar thinks that the epithet *Chāturjātakīya* means that Derdda was a member of *Chāturjātaka*, which according to him 'was an administrative board of four'.[4] The word *jātaka*, however means *jyotiṣ i.e.* astronomy and not committee,[5] and the epithet *Chāturjātakīya* may therefore mean one who was the member of the assembly of those who were well versed in astronomy. A parallel example may be found in the word *Chāturvvaidya* which occurs in the Āhār inscription of Mihir Bhoja Pratīhāra,[6] where it stands for the assembly of the *Chāturvedīs i.e.* those who were learned in the four Vedas. We cannot, therefore, agree with D.C. Sircar's surmise about the existence of an administrative board of four in the Paramāra kingdom for which we have no other evidence.

In villages the people had greater say in the administrative matters of their respective villages. The village head was known probably as *Grāmakūṭa* or *Grāmaṭaka*,[7] and he was the most influential man in the village. His post was usually hereditary and he was the leader of the village militia;[8] the defence of the village being his main duty.[9]

1 *EI*, XXIII, pp 140-41.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
3 *EI*, XXXIII, p. 197, ll. 7 and 12.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 194.
5 See Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.
6 *EI*, XIX, pp. 55-61.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 73, l. 27.
8 Altekar, A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 226.
9 *Ibid.*

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The villages had their own *pañchakulas* and perhaps their assembly of the elders. We do not know what the latter was known as in the time of the Paramāras. The Paramāra land grants invariably make a reference to the *Paṭṭakila* and the *Janapadas*, that is people in general; the former being the official and the latter being the popular element in a village. The village assemblies perhaps mostly interested themselves in the public welfare activities.

The official element in the local administration was probably represented by the following officers :

The *Tālāra* or *Talārādhyakṣa*[1] whose duties were the same as that of a modern Kotwal.[2]

The *Mahattama*,[3] who according to the references in the *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* seems to have been an officer of the town, responsible for its civil administration.[4]

The *Daṇḍapāśika*[5] was a police officer who carried a *daṇḍa* in his hand. His duty was to be a watch and ward of the city or the town and to produce the culprit in the court.

Chāurika's[6] main duty was to arrest the thieves.

Śaulkika[7] was customs officer.

Mārgādāye-kauptika[8] was officer in charge of the tolls or road cess.

Gokulika[9] seems to have been in charge of the *gokulas* or the pasture land.

1 Referred to in the Ajārī inscription of Paramāra Yaśodhavala of Abu. *IA*, LVI, p. 12.

2 *Paiasaddamahāṇṇavo*.

3 Chachcha was the *Mahattama* under Vākpati II (?) (*EI*, XXIX, p. 28) and Parpaṭa was the *Mahattama* under Sindhurāja (*JSI*, pp. 272, 412). The *SMK* also refers to a *Mahattama*.

4 We are told by Siddharṣi that *Mahārāja* Karma Tivara was the *Mahattama* and Atyantavibodha was the *Balādhikṛta* of Asanavyavahāra-nagara (Upamiti, p. 120). Another *Mahattama* was responsible for the administration of another town named Vikalakṣanivāsa (*ibid.*, p. 676). As the *Balādhikṛta* was a military officer, *Mahattama* may have lo oked after the civil administration of the town. *Maru-Bhāratī*, VII, pt. II, pp. 4-5.

5 *EI*, XIX, p. 73, ll. 27-28 ; *SMK*, p. 80.

6 *EI*, XIX, p. 73, ll. 27-28.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *EI*, XXIII, p. 140.

9 *EI*, XIX, p. 73, l. 27.

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The *Paṭṭakila* was the most important officer in the village. There is hardly a land grant of the Paramāras which does not refer to the *Paṭṭakila*.[1] His main duties may have been the assessment of the land and the fixation of the boundaries.

The *Rājādhyakṣa*[2] was perhaps a judicial officer who helped the *Paṭṭakila* in discharging his judicial functions.[3]

A review of the facts presented above gives us a fairly complete picture of the administrative organisation headed by the king and working through various agencies, official and non-official. The *mantrins*, *Tantrapālas*, *Balādhikṛtas* and the *Daṇḍanāyakas* etc. were important elements in it; but so were also the *Mahattaras*, *pañchakulas*, and various *śreṇīs*, whose impact on the life of the people was greater than that of the officials, however high they might have been. In some ways, however, this might be said to be true of many other north Indian kingdoms. But what specially distinguished the Paramāra administration was the cultural and the benevolent spirit which underlined it.[4] A hero is the creation of his age, but he can be very much the moulder of things that follow him, and leaves his impression on the sands of the time. Such was the role of Muñja and Bhoja I, for they set a standard of royal conduct not only for their descendants but also their contemporaries and by trying to emulate them, they actually turned India into an age of Muñja and Bhoja, an age when culture had no less a place in the hearts of the people than power, and the rulers tried to be the abodes of Śrī, Sarasvatī as well as Śakti.

1 *Cf. IA*, VI, p. 53 ; *IA*, XVI, p. 254 ; *EI*, III, p. 48.
2 *EI*, XXXIII, p. 197.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 194.
4 *Vide infra* Chaps. XIV, XV, and XVI.

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CHAPTER XIV

RELIGION

MALWA UNDER the Paramāras witnessed the growth of the Brahmanical religion to a great extent. It was however Purāṇic Hinduism, which laid stress on the construction of the temples of gods as meritorious act, that was gaining ground during this period rather than the Vedic religion. The doctrine of Bhakti appealed more to the popular mind than the cult of Vedic sacrifice. The Paramāra rulers, by constructing temples dedicated to the Hindu gods and goddesses in the various parts of their kingdoms and by making land grants to the Brāhmaṇas, helped in the popularisation of the Brahmanical Hinduism.

The Hindu pantheon then included Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā, Sūrya, Pārvatī, Sarasvatī and several other gods and goddesses. But neither the number of gods and goddesses nor of religious cults occasioned religious hostilities or intolerance. The rulers as well as the ruled realised the importance of the great principle that all the worship, whatever may be its object, reaches the same Supreme Being; that every Great Being the people worshipped is His Manifestation and that everyone tried to move on to that Great Truth.[1] It was this attitude which accounted for the wonderful cultural unity of this period and made possible not only toleration but also appreciation of one another's intellectual achievements and spiritual progress. Thus we find Viṣṇu and Śiva being worshipped simultaneously and their temples existing side by side in the territory of the Paramāras. Different deities could become the tutelary deities of different members of the family; and the Paramāra rulers, though mainly the worshippers of Śiva, showed reverence also to other gods and goddesses, and had Viṣṇu's vehicle Garuḍa on their seal. The Māndhātā copper-plate grant of 1198 A.D. of Paramāra Devapāla invokes the trinity as Kaiśāḥ,[2] Brahmā or Prajāpati,

1 See *Bhagavad-gītā*, X, 40-41 ; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, I, 26-27 ; *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 126-27.

2 *IA*, XX, p. 311.

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Śiva and Viṣṇu combined.[1] It was this tendency which resulted in the production of the *trideva*, *chaturdeva*, and *pañchadeva* sculptures of the *Miśra* school of this period.[2] That the ancient ideals of *dharma* and *puruṣārtha* still captivated the minds of the people is seen by the fact that sometimes the Paramāra inscriptions begin with salutation to *dharma* and *puruṣārtha*.[3]

The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* of Bhoja gives a very good idea of the religious system of the period. It describes not only where the cities and houses should be built but also gives details about temples and the images to be installed in them. Of these temples only a few were inside the city, others were put outside or in the corners. In the centre were put the temples of Brahmā, Indra, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Temples of other Gods had their own prescribed directions. In the east were the temples of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Indra and Dharmarāja; towards the south-east were the temples of Sanatkumāra, Sāvitri, Māruti (Hanumān) ; towards the south, the temples of Gaṇeśa, the Mothers, Yamarāja and the Spirits; to the south-west the temples of Bhadrakālī and the sacred trees dedicated to the *pitṛs* or ancestors; to the west the temples of Sāgara, rivers (like Gaṅgā), Varuṇa and Viśvakarma; to the north-west the temples of the Nāgas, Śanichara and Kārttikeya; to the north, Viśākha, Skanda, Soma and Kubera and to the north-east the temples of Maheśa, Lakṣmī and Agni. In front of every house, were put the images of Lakṣmī and Kubera. The establishment

[1] *Cf. K(ai)śāḥ kaṁj-āli-kāś-ābhā huṁkār-āri-pināk inaḥ* |
vi-vi-go-gatayo dadyuḥ śaṁ vo=mvuj(mbuj)-āṁdu(āmbu)-nag-auksaḥ ||
This difficult verse was first explained by Dr. F.E. Hall in the *JAOS* VI, p. 537, as follows :
'May Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva—in colour resembling, severally, the water-lily, the black bee and the *kāśa* grass ; having, respectively, for weapons, menacing utterances, a discus and the *pināka* ; moving in order as enumerated, with birds, a bird and a bull ; and whose abode is on the *jāmbu*-bearing mountain—bestow on you prosperity'. Dr. Kielhorn has however modified the translation of the last compound as, 'whose abode is, respectively, a lotus, the water and the mountains'. *IA*, XX, p. 311.

[2] *PRAS, WC*, 1906-07, p. 41.

[3] *Cf.* Māndhātā plates of Paramāra Devapāla, *EI*, IX, p. 108, vv. 1-2 ; Māndhātā plates of Jayavarman II, *ibid.*, p. 120, v. 1 ; Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II, *EI*, XXXII, p. 148.

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of Śivaliṅgas inside the city was prohibited. They were to be established only to the western side of the city unless they were put in the cremation grounds. In that case they could be put in the southern direction. The Mothers, the Yakṣas and the Spirits were to be worshipped not in the temples but on the platforms. There should not be too many temples for one god. It was enough to have one temple each for Rudra, Soma and Brahmā. Similarly there should not be too many temples of Indra, Varuṇa, Sumera, Skanda, Viṣṇu and other gods and goddesses. Too many of them meant trouble for some section of society or the other.[1] The account of the religious system as we find here is somewhat similar to that of the *Agni Purāṇa*.[2]

We shall now take up some of the prominent gods and goddesses worshipped during our period in the Paramāra dominions.

The cult of Viṣṇu, we find, was widely prevalent and its followers were people of consequence in the Paramāra kingdoms. Viṣṇu was worshipped in different incarnations *i.e.* Narasiṁha, Matsya, Boar, Tortoise, Paraśurāma, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.[3] As has already been noted the Paramāra kings adopted Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, as their state emblem.

Coming to the individual Paramāra rulers, Sīyaka II was a devotee of Viṣṇu. In his Harsola copper-plate grant Sīyaka II invokes the blessings of Viṣṇu in his Narasiṁha incarnation.[4] His son and successor Vākpati II makes obeisance to Murāri, *i.e.* Kṛṣṇa.[5] King Naravarman took pride in adopting the title *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*.[6] The Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman's time pays homage to the different incarnations of Viṣṇu.

1 *SS*, II, Chap. X, pp. 46-50.
2 *Agni Purāṇa*, Chap. XXXIX.
3 *Cf.* (i) Māndhātā plates of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II, *EI*, XXXII, pp. 148-49 ; *EI*, IX, p. 120, vv. 2-3.
(ii) Māndhātā plates of Devapāla, *EI*, IX, p. 108, vv. 2-3.
(iii) Piplianagar inscription of Arjunavarman, *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378.
(iv) Vasantgarh inscription of Pūrṇapāla, *EI*, IX, p. 12, v. 2.
(v) Paṭanārāyaṇa stone inscription, *IA*, XLV, p. 77.
(vi) Harsola copper-plate grant of Sīyaka II, *EI*, XIX, p. 241.
(vii) Nagpur stone inscription, *EI*, II, p. 182.
(viii) Girwar Stone inscription, *PIHC*, 1961, p. 62.
4 *EI*, XIX, p. 241.
5 *IA*, XIV, p. 160.
6 Ạvantī stone inscription, ed. by Pt. S.N. Vyas (from the off-print).

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Verse two of the inscription declares that Viṣṇu is the sole lord of the fortune of three worlds, from whose middle stride even the sun and the other luminaries yonder shine forth',[1] and verse seven invokes the protection of Viṣṇu in the guise of a fish and other creatures.[2] King Arjunavarman is said to have worshipped the husband of Lakṣmī *i.e.* Viṣṇu at the time of making his land grant[3] and to have paid homage to Śeśa, Paraśurāma, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira as well as to the conqueror of Kaṁsa. *viz*, Kṛṣṇa.[4] We find a highly poetical description of god Viṣṇu in his different incarnations in a fragmentary inscription from Mandu, composed by Bilhaṇa, the poet minister of king Vindhyavarman.[5] He speaks of 'having strung together his flowery verses in a wreath for Viṣṇu and has thus by word of mouth offered his deep and lasting devotion at His (holy) feet'.[6] King Devapāla donated two gardens for the use of the temple of Viṣṇu.[7] King Jaitugi is called a 'young Nārāyaṇa,[8] and king Jayavarman II makes obeisance to Paraśurāma, Rāma and Kaiṭabhajit.[9]

Of the Paramāras of Abu, Pūrṇapāla was a worshipper of god Hari *i.e.* Viṣṇu.[10] A recently edited inscription from Girwar, dated V.S. 1181=1124 A.D., begins with the formula '*Oṁ namaḥ Nārāyaṇa*' and the prayer that the rays of light emanating from the nails of Viṣṇu's feet may purify the universe.[11] The second verse of this inscription invokes the protection of Murāri's feet.[12] Paṭanārāyaṇa, we are told in the third verse, had that effulgence before which the other shedders of light, the sun, the moon and lightening fire paled, their light being a mere reflection of Paṭanārāyaṇa.[13] King Pratāpasiṁha of Abu was a great devotee of Viṣṇu. His Paṭanārāyaṇa stone inscription starts with an obeisance to Puruṣottama and invokes the blessings of *Śrī* Paṭanārāyaṇa.[14] His minister, Delhaṇa carried out the repairs of the temple of Paṭanārāyaṇa

1 *EI*, II, p. 182, v. 2.
2 *Ibid.*, v. 7.
3 *JAOS*, VII, p. 27.
4 *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378.
5 *ABORI*, XI, pp. 49-53.
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.
7 *EI*, IX, p. 109.
8 *Ibid*, p. 121.
9 *EI*, XXXII, pp. 148-49.
10 *EI*, IX, p. 12.
11 *PIHC*, 1961, p. 62.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*
14 *IA*, XLV, p. 78.

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who, we are told, was established on Mt. Abu by Rāma on his way back to his capital after defeating Rāvaṇa.[1]

Of the temples of Viṣṇu in the Paramāra territories, there is a reference to the existence of the temple of Daityasūdana near Māndhātā.[2] At Nimar there is an incomplete temple of Viṣṇu which belongs to our period.[3] At Chandrāvatī there is a small shrine dedicated to the Varāhāvatāra (boar incarnation) of Viṣṇu.[4] At Muṅgthalā, in the old Sirohi State, there existed the Madhusūdana temple, from where we have an inscription dated 1188 A.D. of the time of the Abu prince Dhārāvarṣa.[5] At Girwar, a village 4 miles to the east of Madhusūdana, stood the famous temple of Paṭanārāyaṇa.[6]

The temples of Kayādrān, Chandrāvatī, Girwar and Karoḍī-Dhaj contain the images of Viṣṇu, Garuḍa and the Kalki-avatāra of Viṣṇu.[7] A black stone sculpture at Arthuna, belonging to the 11th or early 12th century A.D., represents a sleeping female and a child lying sprawling on a cushion beside the mother.[8] Śrī Agarwala and U.C. Bhattacharya are of the opinion that this sculpture represents Yaśodā (the wife of Nanda of Gokula) reposing with her infant Kṛṣṇa.[9] Such carvings have also been found at Kirāḍū. To the left of the entrance of the well-known Someśvara temple, which belongs to our period,[10] we have the depiction of several Kṛṣṇāyana stories, such as three cows standing before a person (*i.e.* Kṛṣṇa as a cowherd); Kṛṣṇa's fight with the horse-demon, Śakaṭabhaṅga and Kṛṣṇa's fight with the bull demon.[11]

The god that found the greatest acceptance in the Paramāra dominions, however, was Śiva in one form or the other. Śiva seems to have been the tutelary deity of the Paramāra kings

1 *IA*, XLV, p. 78.
2 *EI*, IX, p. 109, l. 20.
3 *PRAS, WC*, 1920-21, pp. 98-106; *CH*, p. 135.
4 *ASR* (Cunn), II, pp. 269-70; *vide infra* Chap. XVI.
5 *ASI*, 1906-07, p. 209; *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 122; *PRAS, WC*, 1906-07, p. 26.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
7 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
8 *IHQ*, XXX, pp. 343-44.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Vide ante* Chap. XI and *infra* Chap. XVI.
11 *IHQ*, XXX, p. 350.

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whose inscriptions invariably begin with the formula *'Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya'*. He was worshipped under various names derived either from the achievements ascribed to him or the locality where his image was set up or after the name of the builder of the temple. Thus we find him being called as Smarārti, Śambhu, Maheśa, Bhavānīpati, Somanātha, Vyomkeśa, Naṭeśa, Oṁkāra, Hara, Amareśvara, Mahākāleśvara, Kanakhaleśvara, Siddheśvara, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara, Bhojeśvara, Sindhurājeśvara, Kāśīviśveśvara and Kedāreśvara. Of the famous twelve *jyotṛlińgas*, three were situated in the territory of the Paramāras, *viz*, Mahākāla at Ujjain, Amareśvara and Oṁkāramāndhātā, on the banks of the Narmada. Of these three, the most famous was the Mahākāla of Ujjain, which enjoyed countrywide fame.

According to the *Prāyaśchitta-samuchchaya*, Lambakarṇa of Raṇipadra (modern Ranod) monastery, of the Mattamayūra sect, was the spiritual preceptor of king Sīyaka II of Malwa.[1] He has been described as one who heard the whole of the *Śaiva-siddhānta* and was like a Śiva on Kailāśa.[2] The line of Lambakarṇa continued through Īśvara-Śiva whose disciple Hṛdaya-Śiva composed the *Prāyaśchitta-samuchchaya*.[3] The Ujjain plates of Vākpati II begin with an obeisance to Girijā *i.e.* Pārvatī and Śrīkaṇṭha *i.e.* Mahādeva.[4] The king is said to have worshipped Bhavānīpati at the time of making his land grant.[5] The inscription also refers to a Śiva-lake, which was excavated by Vākpati II perhaps to commemorate Śiva.[6] The Gaonri plates of this king also start with two verses in praise of Śiva.[7] King Sindhurāja seems to have been a great devotee of Śiva. We are told by the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* that Sindhurāja worshipped at the temple of Haṭakeśvara[8] a little before entering the house

1 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Select Palm Leafs in the Durbar Library*, Nepal, p. 215.

2 *Ibid.*; The Purāṇas mention Lambakarṇa as a *bhairava* at Avanti (*vide The Śākta-Pīṭhas*, p. 7). It seems that the ascetic Lambakarṇa described as a Śiva was regarded as a *bhairava* (see *SCNI*, p. 34).

3 *Ibid.*

4 *IA*, VI, pp. 51-52.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 *EI*, XXIII, p. 108.

8 *NC*, XVIII, vv. 14-15.

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of the Nāga king, the father of Śaśiprabhā. He is also said to have established a Śivaliṅga, which he was presented by Śaṅkhapāla, in his *kularājadhānī* Dhārā.[1] Under his son and successor Bhoja the Great, Śaivism spread far and wide in Malwa. Bhoja wrote his *Tattvaprakāśa* with an object to explain Śaiva philosophy as found in the *Śaivāgamas*.[2] It is one of the simplest and clearest manuals of the sect of the *Āgamic* Śaivas. The Udaipur *praśasti* tells us that Bhoja beautified the world by covering it with temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Suṇḍīra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra, all of them in Malwa.[3] The Bhojeśvara temple of Bhojapura[4] and the Samddhīśvara temple at Chitor were also built by Bhoja.[5] The Tilakawāḍā copper-plate grant refers to Bhoja's grant to a Śaiva ascetic Dinakara, for the worship of the god Ghaṇṭeśvara at the village Ghaṇṭoli.[6] This temple is still in existence.[7]

King Jayasiṁha I is reported to have made some grant to the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara at Arthuna.[8] King Udayāditya's reign should be described as the golden age of Śaivism in Malwa. He is said to have obtained his son Jagaddeva after worshipping Hara *i.e.* Śiva.[9] He founded the city of Udayapura where stands the famous temple of Udayeśvara or Nīlakaṇṭheśvara-mahādeva, which was built by the orders of Udayāditya between the years 1059 A.D. to 1080 A.D.[10] Un, which is described as the Khajurāho of Malwa, is studded with a number of Śaiva temples dedicated to Mahākāleśvara, Vallabheśvara, Nīlakaṇṭheśvara and Gupteśvara.[11] That most of these temples were constructed during the reign of Udayāditya is proved by the discovery of his Un inscriptions from one of these temples.[12] The Shergarh inscription of Udayāditya refers

1 *NC*, XVIII, vv. 53, 64 ; *vide ante* Chap. V.
2 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI ; Dasgupta, S.N., *History of Indian Philosophy*, V, p. 159.
3 *EI*, I, pp. 235-36.
4 *Imperial Gazetteer*, VIII, pp. 121-22.
5 *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, III, pp. 1-18.
6 *PTAIOC*, 1919 (Poona session), p. 319.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *EI*, XXI, p. 49.
9 *EI*, XXVI, p. 183, v. 7.
10 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
11 *Ibid.*
12 *EI*, XXXI, p. 30 ; *ASI*, 1918-19, pp. 17-18.

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to a grant made in favour of the temple of Somanātha situated in the fort of Kośavardhana, *i.e.* Shergarh.[1] Another temple dedicated to Śiva was erected at Doṅgargāon by a Brāhmaṇa named as Śrīnivāsa in the time of Udayāditya.[2]

King Naravarman offered obeisance to Śambhu and Kārttikeya,[3] though he might have been a Vaiṣṇava. In verse three of the Jainād inscription of Jagaddeva, Śiva is worshipped in his Tripuradahana form.[4] A Jaina inscription from Shergarh, dated 1134 A.D., invokes Śiva as Gaṅgādhara.[5] There is a temple at Modī, dedicated to god Lakulīśa,[6] the founder of the Pāśupata sect, who later on came to be regarded as an incarnation of Śiva.[7] At present it is difficult to determine the date of the temple. Perhaps it was built by king Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II, whose inscription, dated 1257 A.D., has been discovered there.[8] Śaiva temples were constructed also at Devapālapura and Śakapura in the time of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II.[9] The Siddheśvara temple at Nimar was also built during our period.[10]

The Paramāra *Mahākumāras* were devotees of Śiva and gave grants of land to the Brāhmaṇas. The Gyarāspur inscription of *Mahākumāra* Trailokyavarman records the construction of an image of god Chāmuṇḍasvāmideva and a grant of a village with a view to provide for the god's worship.[11] *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman is said to have worshipped Śiva at the time of granting land.[12]

That like their brothers in Malwa, the Abu Paramāras, too, have been Śaivites, can be seen from the names of their deities, *i.e.* Siddheśvara, Kāśeśvara, Kākaleśvara and Kankhaleśvara, occurring in their inscriptions. King Devarāja of Abu invokes

1 *EI*, XXIII, pp. 135-36.
2 *EI*, XXVI, p. 184, vv. 13-14.
3 *EI*, II, p. 182.
4 *EI*, XXII, p. 60.
5 *EI*, XXXI, p. 82.
6 *PRAS, WC*, 1912-13, pp. 55-56 ; *vide infra* Chap. XVI.
7 See below p. 252, fns. 3-6.
8 *PRAS, WC*, 1912-13, p. 56 ; see above, p. 155.
9 *EI*, XXXII, p. 152.
10 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
11 *EI*, XXXIII, pp. 93-94.
12 *IA*, XVI, p. 254.

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the blessings of Śiva while granting a field situated to the south of the city-wall of Bhinmāl to one Aurkāchārya, the son of Chaṇḍa Śivāchārya who was the head of the temple of Siddheśvaramahādeva.[1] Queen Lāhinī, the sister of king Pūrṇapāla, pays homage to Maheśvara, even when she was restoring the temple of the Sun and granting land in its favour in the year 1042 A.D.[2] God *Śrī* Chaṇḍīśvaramahādeva, who is described as the teacher of the Pāśupatas, is paid homage to in a Bhinmāl inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja.[3] The Kayādrān inscription of Dhārāvarṣa refers to the temple of Kāśeśvara whose Bhaṭṭāraka Deveśvara was granted remission of taxes on his village, Fulhali.[4] Dhārāvarṣa's Hāthal inscription refers to a donation of land to Bhaṭṭāraka Vīśala Ugradamaka, the *āchārya* of Śaivadharma.[5] King Raṇasiṁha made grants in favour of god Kākaleśvara—a Śaiva temple built after the name of king Kākaladeva of Abu.[6] The Abu inscription, dated 1218 A.D., refers to the temples of Koteśvara, Atulanātha, Śūlapaṇi and Kanakhaleśvara at Kanakhala.[7] King Somasiṁha's inscription refers to a temple dedicated to Lakulīśa.[8]

King Someśvara, the Paramāra prince of Kirāḍū, built the famous Śaiva temple of Someśvara at Kirāḍū and his predecessor Sindhurāja built the temple known as Sindhurājeśvara.[9] Of the Vāgaḍa Paramāras, Dhanika built the temple of Dhaneśvara near the Mahākāla at Ujjain and Maṇḍalīka built the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara at Panhera and made endowments to it.[10] During the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja a temple of Harīśvara, so named after the name of the architect, was constructed at Arthuna.[11]

The example of the rulers was followed by the people and Śaivism became very popular among the common classes during this period, who expressed their devotion through the construction and repair of Śiva temples and images. The Victoria Hall Udaipur inscription records the building of two

1 *EI*, XXII, pp. 197-98 ; *vide ante* Chap. XI.
2 *Ibid.*; *EI*, IX, pp. 10-15.
3 *BG*, I, pt. II, p. 474.
4 *IA*, LVI, p. 51, ins. no. 1.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *PRAS, WC*, 1910-11, p. 39.
7 *IA*, XI, p. 221.
8 *DG's Annual*, 1907-08, p. 226.
9 *IA*, LXI, p. 136.
10 *EI*, XXI, pp. 42-50.
11 *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 35.

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temples by a member of a Kāyastha family.[1] Janna, a *telī* Patel built a temple of Śiva and dug a *vāpī* (tank) during the reign of king Udayāditya.[2] Janna also promised four *pala* (a measure) of oil and a ball of sweet to be offered every year to the god.[3]

Śiva figures mostly in the form of a *liṅga* in our period.[4] Of the images of Śiva, the figures of Śiva and his consort Durgā in various forms are found in the exterior of the Udayeśvara temple of Udaipur.[5] Śiva and the Saptamātṛkās figure also in the sculptures of the temples at Un and Nimar.[6] An image of dancing Śiva was discovered from Ujjain[7] and another was discovered from Kotah.[8] The lintels of the shrine doors also contain carvings of Śiva and Pārvatī along with other deities.

From this matter-of-fact account let us now pass on to the religio-philosophic thought of Śaivism which inspired the building of so many temples, incising of so many devotional and dedicatory inscriptions, to sculpture of high quality, and which expressed itself through a number of schools.

Of the four well-known Śaiva schools, *viz*, Śaiva, Kāpālika, Pāśupata and Karuṇika-Siddhāntin or Karkasiddhāntika, we find reference to the first three in the Paramāra inscriptions.

The Śaiva system has four *pādas* or parts, which are knowledge (*vidyā*), action (*kriyā*), meditation (*yoga*) and conduct or discipline (*charyā*). According to this sect there are three principles, the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and fetters (*pāśa*). The lord (*pati*) is Śiva who acts, being impelled thereto by the deeds (*karman*) of souls. He is not only the destroyer, but also the protector, creator, concealer and benefactor. The *paśu* is the individual soul, which is eternal and all-pervading. *Paśu* can become one with Śiva, when the fetters are removed by possessing boundless knowledge and power of action, but

1 *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 124.
2 *JPASB (*New series*)*, X (1914), pp. 241-43.
3 *Ibid.*
4 *Cf.* A large Śivaliṅga was worshipped at the Udayeśvara temple at Udaipur. The Bhojeśvara temple of Bhojapura contains a colossal *liṅga*, 7½ ft. high and 17.8″ in circumference. *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*

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he remains eternally dependent on Mahāśiva, the lord of all. *Pāśa* is due to *mala* (which conceals the acting and knowing power of the soul), or due to *karman* (which is the impression of the deeds, righteous or unrighteous done for the attainment of fruit); or due to *māyā* (the material cause) and due to *rodhāśakti* (or the obstructive power). This last is Śiva's power which through the operation of the three other fetters prevents the soul from realising its true nature. One is entitled to *dīkṣā* (initiation), on realising the nature of the above mentioned principles. *Dīkṣā* is an essential preliminary in the Śaiva system.

This constitutes the first part of the system, the *vidyāpāda*. The second part—*kriyāpāda*—deals with the accomplishments of *mantra*, the twilight adorations, worship, muttering of formulae (*japa*), throwing oblation into the fire, occasional ceremonies for the attainment of eternal bliss, anointing of the preceptor and of the person entering on a course of action for final emancipation and one's own initiatory ceremonies necessary to fit one for a worldly and for an eternal life. The third part explains meditation or concentration (*yoga*), along with its subsidiary processes. The fourth teaches discipline or conduct (*charyā*), consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is not prescribed. Without this, *yoga* is not possible.[1]

The *Śaiva-darśana-saṁgraha* mentions Na (La) kulīśa Pāśupata school. Lakulīśa,[2] the founder of the Pāśupata school is stated as an incarnation of Śiva with a citron in the right hand and a staff in the left, in the Purāṇas,[3] the *Ātmasamarpaṇa*,[4] the *Kāravaṇa-māhātmya*[5] and the *Tantrāloka*.[6] He is also mentioned in inscriptions.[7] According to the Purāṇas he was the last and the twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva in a Brāhmaṇa family at Kāyārohaṇa in Bhṛgukṣetra, which is the same as Kārvan in the Dabhoi Taluka of Gujarat.[8]

1 Our account of the Śaiva sect is based on Bhandarkar's summary of Śambhudeva's *Śaivasiddhānta-dīpikā*. *Vide BSVM*, pp. 124-27.

2 The word Lakulīśa means the lord of those who bear a staff in their hands.

3 *Cf. Vāyū*, Chap. XIII ; *Liṅga*, XXIV.

4 *Gaṇakārikā*, App. I, p. 25, v. 4.

5 *Ibid.*, App. IV, p. 37.

6 *Tantrāloka*, XIII, p. 340.

7 *PRAS, WC*, 1912-13, pp. 55-56.

8 *Gaṇakārikā*, Intro., pp. IV-V.

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The *Pāśupata Sūtras*, also known as the *Pañchādhyāyī* form the basis of this school. The principles of this school are *kārya*, *kāraṇa*, *yoga*, *vidhi* and *dukkānta*—the end of all misery.[1] *Kārya* includes the *paśu* or the fetterred soul. The *kāraṇa* is the recognition of the Lord *i.e.* Maheśvara. *Yoga* means bringing the soul in connection with Maheśvara. *Vidhi* includes rules to practice *yoga* and *dukkānta* does not merely mean the cessation of pain but the attainment of *mahaiśvarya*.[2] These are called *pañchārthas* in this system. The Pāśupata devotee concentrated more on the attainment of the omniscience, omnipotence, freedom from *saṁsāra* and control over the senses, these being the attributes of Maheśvara with whom they tried to be one by means of *yoga*. This positive ideal must have appealed to many, though the discipline prescribed for the Pāśupata ascetic was far from easy. One required knowledge, strict adherence to the prescribed ritual and the guidance of the expert *guru* to reach the destination.[3] The layman had an easier course. He had to serve the Pāśupata church and had to have full faith in the grace of Maheśvara, to march forward on the religious path.[4]

The Kāpālikas or Mahāvratadhārins profess to have their knowing power sharpened by drinking wine and eating a certain kind of food (probably a disgusting substance) and always being embraced by the power (*śakti*) of the Kāpālin *i e. bhairava* which is said to have been established at Ujjain.[5] The Kāpālikas used human skulls as their bowls and bones as ornaments. They moved out naked.[6] The Kāpālika system was highly Tāntrik in its texture. The Tilakawāḍā inscription of Bhoja refers to an ascetic who had taken a Mahāvrata.[7] This copper plate describes the Mahāvratin as Śaṅkara in the Kapālī form.[8]

1 *Pāśupata Sūtras*, Intro., pp. 9-11.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Gaṇakārikā*, pp. 9-10.

4 *Ibid.*

5 See *The Śakta Pīṭhas*.

6 See *Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuchchaya* of Haribhadra.

7 *PTAIOC*, 1919 (Poona session), p. 319.

8 *Ibid.*

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The Pāśupatas and the Kāpālikas did not believe in caste system and admitted people freely to their ascetic order.[1]

There were a number of Śaiva monasteries in the Paramāra dominions. They fostered the study of the religious scriptures. At the head of each monastery was a superintendent, highly distinguished for learning. There was a Śaiva monastery of established repute at Ujjain known as the Chaṇḍikāśrama,[2] where the following *āchāryas* assumed the headship of the monastery successively :

Tāpasa
|
Vākalarāsi
|
Jyeṣṭajarāśi
|
Yāgeśvararāśi
|
Maunirāśi
|
Yogeśvarī
|
Durvāsarāśi
|
Kedārarāśi[3]

The succession was spiritual *i.e.* from the teacher to the disciple. Even women could become heads of the monasteries, by virtue of merit, such as Yogeśvarī in the above list.

It seems that Upendrapura[4] and its neighbouring territories had been a great centre of the *Śaivāchāryas* belonging to the Mattamayūra sect. There was perhaps a large monastery at Upendrapura of the Mattamayūra *āchāryas* whose fame attracted the Kalachuri king Avantivarman.[5] There would have

1 The *Vāmana Purāṇa* mentions Dhaṇḍa as an *āchārya* of the Kāpālika sect. His pupil Arodara was a Śūdra (*Vāmana*, VI, 86-89).

2 *IA*, XI, pp. 220-23.

3 *Ibid.*

4 For Upendrapura and Upendramaṇḍala see *EI*, XX, p. 106 ; *vide ante* Chap. XIII, account of the territorial divisions.

5 According to the Ranod inscription king Avantivarman of the Kalachuri family went himself to Upendrapura, where the sage Purandara of the Mattamayūra sect was practising penance. *EI*, I, p. 355.

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been many other such monasteries, but their existence is now lost in obscurity.

The third member of the trinity of the God head suffered a serious setback in the number of its devotees, during our period. So far only three Brahmā temples have been discovered from the territory of the Paramāras—one was at Vasantgarh,[1] the other at Chinch in Bānswārā and it belongs to the 12th century A.D.,[2] and the third was at Chandrāvatī.[3] We do not have any land grant made in favour of either a Brahmā temple or a devotee of Brahmā. We, however, do find Brahmā images on the friezes of the door-lintels of the temples of Kirāḍū,[4] Nimar[5] and Girwar.[6] A two-armed and three-faced figure of the god has been discovered from Vasantgarh.[7] Brahmā, as one of the members of the Hindu *trideva*, *chaturdeva*, and *pañchadeva* sculptures figures, both on the doors and outside walls of various shrines.[8] He is also revered to in some of the Paramāra inscriptions along with other gods and goddesses.

The Sun-worship, which is the inheritance of the primitive society when beneficial nature was the object of worship, seems to have been fairly popular during the Paramāra period. The Āryans worshipped the orb of the Sun. But the Sun as worshipped in our times was perhaps in the form as described by Varāhamihira who states that 'the god should be dressed in the fashion of a northerner, (his body) from the feet upto the breast being covered. He should wear a crown and hold two lotus flowers by their stalks. His face should be adorned with ear-rings, he should wear a long necklace and be encircled by an *aviyaṅga* . . . his face should be covered with a cheek plate'.[9]

1 *PRAS, WC,* 1905-06, p. 50 ; *vide infra,* Chap. XVI.

2 *Marubhāratī,* II, p. 85.

3 *ASWI,* IX, pp. 96-99.

4 *Marubhāratī,* II, p. 86 ; *PRAS, WC,* 1906-07, pp. 41-42.

5 *PRAS, WC,* 1920-21, pp. 98-106.

6 *PRAS, WC,* 1906-07, p. 27.

7 *PRAS, WC,* 1905-06, p. 50 ; *ASI,* 1906-07, p. 175.

8 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

9 See *Bṛhat-saṁhitā,* Chap. 58 ; Banerjea, J.N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* pp. 432-37.

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Thus he is the only Hindu god who is shown as wearing shoes which was probably the result of the Śaka influence.[1]

In the territory of the Paramāras, Bhilsa was once the most famous seat of the Sun-god, where stood the famous temple of Bhaillasvāmin, whose existence goes back to 878 A.D.[2] Two stone inscriptions have been discovered from this place, one starts with the words '*Oṁ namaḥ Sūryāya*', and the other contains the eulogy of the Sun-god composed by *Mahākavichakravartin Paṇḍita* Chhittapa, who flourished under the patronage of king Bhojadeva.[3] The inscription represents the Sun's rays as the source of the splendour of such objects as the jewel on the hood of Śeśa-Nāga, the pearls in the bed of the sea and the stars in the sky. It further states that the Sun's rays, when they came into contact with the moon, the horizon and the clouds became respectively the moon-light, the twilight and the rainbow.[4] *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra is said to have made his land grant in the presence of god Bhaillasvāmin, situated on the banks of Vetrāvatī *i.e.* Betwa, at Bhilsa.[5]

Bhinmāl seems to have been another great centre of the Sun worship with its famous Sun temple known as Jagat-svāmin, to which a Brāhmaṇa offered a *kalaśa* of gold at his own expense in 1066 A.D.[6] The Bhinmāl inscription of the Paramāra king Kṛṣṇarāja makes Śiva fold his hands before Sūrya in adoration.[7]

In the Jainād inscription of Jagaddeva, the first two verses are devoted to the praise of the god Sūrya,[8] and it also refers to a temple of Nimbāditya,[9] constructed by the wife of Lolārka, the minister of Jagaddeva. At Gyarāspur near Vidiśā, there are ruins of a temple called Vajramaṭha, a figure of the Sun driven by seven horses.[10] Queen Lāhinī is said to have restored

1 Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that the foreign character of the Sun can be proved by showing him wearing boots reaching up to the knees. *BSVM*, pp. 154-55.
2 *EI*, XXX, p. 213.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 218.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 219, vv. 8-9.
5 *EI*, XXIV, p. 232.
6 *BG*, I, pt. II, pp. 473-74.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 474, ll. 1-3.
8 *EI*, XXII, pp. 59-60.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
10 *ASR* (Cunn.), X, pp. 31-34.

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a Sun temple at Vaṭapura *i.e.* Vasantgarh; during the reign of the Paramāra chief Pūrṇapāla.[1] There is a beautiful marble temple dedicated to Sūrya-narāyāṇa at Varman.[2] It contains a standing image of Sūrya which must have occupied the main shrine.[3] Some very good Sun images have been found also at Kirāḍū. Sūrya sometimes was combined with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā etc., to form the *chaturdeva* or *pañchadeva* sculptures.[4]

The worship of Sūrya at one time was widely prevalent in Rajasthan.[5] In the Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā we find Sūrya being worshipped on the Vijayasaptamī day for begetting a son.[6] His popularity was perhaps due to the fact that he is the most perceptibly beneficent of all the gods to be worshipped and he is the deity identified by others with their own tutelary gods. In the Śaiva system for instance, the sun is not a mere votary of Śiva, but one of his *aṣṭamūrtis*;[7] he is the Viṣṇu Trivikrama of the Vedas, and Viṣṇu's right eye in the Purāṇic literature. He is, we are told by the *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Viṣṇu in Śvetadvīpa, Maheśvara in Kuśadvīpa and Bhāskara in Śakadvīpa.[8] His popularity was further increased by his worship even by the non-Brahmanical sects like the Jainas.[9]

Śakti-worship was also very popular in the Paramāra dominions. Śakti was visualised as the Prime Power which pervades the whole world.[10] It was through her that every god was powerful. The Śakti of Viṣṇu, the preceptor of the world, was called Śrī or Lakṣmī; Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī were associated with Brahmā and the Śakti of Śiva was Durgā or Bhagavatī. Without her neither the mighty Śiva nor a blade of grass could move. With the opening out of Śakti, the universe appears; and when

1 *EI*, IX, p. 14; *vide ante* Chap. XI.

2 *Ibid.*; *PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, pp. 71-72.

3 *Ibid.*

4 The inclusion of Sūrya in the trinity formed the *chaturdeva* images *i.e.* sculptures combining Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya in one body, which have been found at Kirāḍū. *PRAS, WC*, 1907-08, p. 41.

5 According to G.H. Ojha there was no village in Sirohi state of the period 600-1400 A.D., which did not have either a Sun temple or some broken image of the Sun-god. *SRKI*, p. 24.

6 *SMK*, p. 19.

7 *Mālavikāgnimitra*, I.

8 *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Chap. XXVI, śloka, 38.

9 *Pc*, p. 82.

10 *Skanda, Kaumārikhaṇḍa*, LXV; *Mārkaṇḍeya, Durgā*, IV.

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Śakti closes herself up, the universe disappears. *Śṛṣṭi* (creation) and *pralaya* (dissolution) alternate ; and this process is without a beginning.[1]

The Purāṇas describe two aspects of Śakti, the pacific and the terrible. In her benedictory form Śiva's consort was Gaurī or Pārvatī. As the consort of Rudra she was Kālī, Chaṇḍikā or Chāmuṇḍā. In the guise of Kālī she killed demons and was worshipped with bloody offerings of animals, flowers, water, incense, sandal and *homa*.[2] According to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, if Devī Harasiddhī (Durgā) is worshipped with the offerings of buffaloes on the *Mahānavamī* day, she fulfils all the desires of her devotee.[3] In the month of Āśvina, special worship was offered to her, these days of worship still being known as Navarātra *i.e.* the nine-nights.

We do not find any reference to the construction of the temples dedicated to the goddess, nor to any grants made in her favour during our period. Her popularity however is proved by the fact that she is referred to along with Śiva in various Paramāra inscriptions.[4] According to the *Skanda Purāṇa*, Devī Vindhyavāsinī (*i.e.* Durgā) resided in Avanti.[5] Ujjain and Abu were the famous *Śākta-Pīṭhas*,[6] *i.e.* the centres of worship of Śakti and the accompanying Bhairava (a form of Śiva) associated with the Devī.[7] *Daśaharaḥ* or *Durgā-pujā* was a famous festival in Malwa.[8]

1 *AIK*, pp. 301-02. 2 *Durgā Saptaśati*, IX, 6; *ibid.*, XII, 20-21.

3 *Skanda, Avantikhaṇḍa*, XIX, 3; *ibid.*, XXI,15.

4 *Cf.* A copper-plate grant of a Paramāra king of Abu, *EI*, XXXII, p. 137 ; Nagpur stone inscription, *EI*, II, p. 182, v. 1.

5 *Skanda, Avantikhaṇḍa*, LXVI, 27.

6 Sircar, D.C., *The Śākta-Pīṭhas*, Intro., pp. 20, 22.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 3. According to tradition there are in India a number of widely scattered *pīṭhasthānas* where the dismembered holy body of Satī, the consort of Śiva, fell when it was sundered into pieces by the discus of Viṣṇu, after the disastrous sacrifice of the Prajāpati Dakṣa. (Bose and Haldar, *Tantras : Their philosophy and Occult Secrets*, p. 26).

We do hear of the enshrining of the teeth, nails, and possession of Lord Buddha in different parts of India, and even outside its shores. Hence there may be some truth behind the mythological legends of the Purāṇas relating to the most unfortunate manner of the passing away of Satī, the beloved consort of Śiva and the enshrinement of her limbs in those parts of India where Śiva was held in high esteem. Sircar, D.C., *op. cit.*

8 See our account of festivals in Chap. XV.

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Of the archaeological evidence of Devī-worship during our period we have an image of Devī Pārvatī which was established by the Lārā Baniās at Dhārā in the year 1081 A.D., during the reign of king Udayāditya.[1] According to Capt. Barnes, 'the antiquity of the temple Kālikādevī at Mandu goes back to early Hindu kings of Malwa, (*i.e.* the Paramāras)'.[2] When the Muslims invaded Malwa, the image, to avoid its destruction, was removed and hidden in the city, where it is still to be seen in a miserable hut. It is held by the devotees of Kālikādevī that with the exception of the famous Kālikā of Calcutta, this is the only image of the goddess which escaped destruction and survived those iconoclastic times.[3] Pārvatī also figures along with Śiva on the niches of the shrine doors of our period.

Śāktism seems to have helped in popularising Tāntrik religion. Generally the Tantras[4] deal with five principal topics of creation and destruction of the universe, the worship of the deities, the attainment of certain superhuman powers and the union of the soul with the Supreme Being.[5] For the attainment of the last two objects certain *sādhanās* of psycho-bodily nature or Yogic exercises were regarded as essential.[6] The Tāntrik system lays special stress upon the *mantras* (*i.e.* prayers and formulae), *bījas*, (*i.e.* syllables of mystic significance peculiar to each deity), *yantras* (*i.e.* diagrams drawn on paper or inscribed in precious stone, metal etc.), *mudrās* (*i.e.* special positions of fingers and movements of hands), and *nyāsas* (*i.e.* placing the deities on the different parts of the body by touching them with finger-tips and the palm, mostly of the right hand).[7]

1 *ABORI*, IV, pp. 99-102 ; for details *vide* Chaps. VII and XVI.

2 *Dhār and Mandu*, p. 353.

3 *Ibid.*

4 The word Tantra is given a number of interpretations, such as a chief, a right conclusion, a weaver's batten or a raiment (*vide Amarakośa, Nānārthavargaḥ*). But later on it became restricted to the mystic literature called Tantra. We use the word Tantra in this latter sense.

5 *ERE*, XII, p. 193.

6 *Kriyā* or rituals and *charyā* or conduct, both have their place in the *Tantraśāstra*. But Yoga is regarded as infinitely superior to them. *Vide Guhyasamāja Tantra* or *Tathāgataguhyaka*, Intro., pp. xii, xv, xxii.

7 *AIK*, p. 317.

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Of the organised Brahmanical Tāntrik sects, the most generally referred to are the Kāpālikas[1] and the Kaulas. As regards the latter we get a systematic exposition in the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* of Matsyendranātha, composed in about 11th century A.D.[2]

The technical word *kula* has a philosophic as well as Yogic significance. On the philosophic side the *kula* has been defined by Bhāskararāya as an assemblage of three things, *mātṛ*, *māna* and *meya*, *i.e.* the perceiver, perception and the perceived.[3] The *mātṛ* is the *jīva*, *māna* is *pramāṇa* or *jñāna* and *meya* is this world of *ghaṭa* and *paṭa*.[4] Ultimately there is non-duality, for it is the same consciousness that takes these three different forms.[5] On the Yogic side *kula* is *ādhārachakra*, *i.e.* the lowest station below the naval, which is the seat of the psychic energy—otherwise called the *kuṇḍalinī*. As in its upward march it follows the *nāḍī* (channel) called *suṣmṇā*, that also is indirectly called *kula*. The embrosia that trickles from the (*sahasrāra*) down the *suṣmṇā* is called *kulāmṛta*,[6] which enables one conquer death even.[7]

In a way these two conceptions are interconnected. The *sādhaka* could, through his meditation bring into existence the objects that he thought of *i.e.* the *sādhya*, for both are one ultimately. The cultivation of *advaitabhāvanā* or non-duality was insisted upon.[8] The Tāntrik system as propounded by the *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya* is against external worship. The Supreme Creator, according to it, should be worshipped by means of eight mental offerings, the *ahiṁsā*, *indriyānigraha*, *dayā*, *bhāva*,

[1] See above our account of the Śaiva schools.

[2] P.C. Bagchi's edition, Intro., p. 5.

[3] सजातीयानां मातृमानमेयानां समूहः कुलम् ।
Vide Bhāskararāya's commentary on the *Lalitāsahasranāma*, generally known as *Saubhāgyabhāskara*, as quoted in the *KJN*, Intro., p. 37.

[4] कुलं मातृ-मान-मेयम् ।
माता जीवः, मानं प्रमाणं ज्ञानमिति यावत्, मेयं
घटपटादिरूपं विश्वमिति यावत् ।
Tārārahsya Vṛttikā as quoted in the *KJN*, Intro., p. 38.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] कुः पृथ्वीतत्त्वं लीयते यत्र तत् कुलम् आधारचक्रं,
तत् सम्बन्धाल्लक्षणया सुषुम्णामार्गोऽपि । अतः
सहस्रारात् स्रवदमृतं कुलामृतम् । *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*; also Text, Chap. VI, vv. 18-19.

[8] *Ibid.*, XI, v. 25.

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(idealism), *kṣamā*, *krodhavinirjjita*, *dhyāna* and *jñāna*.[1] A *sādhaka* with *advaitabhāvanā* used a few things which were considered bad by others, for he could not obviously make any difference between *bhakṣya* and *abhakṣya*. Hence we read about the consumption of *viṣṭha*, *rakta*, *śukra* and *majja* etc. by the *sādhaka*.[2]

The Tāntrik system can be regarded both as theistic as well as monistic; theistic if the emphasis be on the worship of Śiva and Śakti, and monistic if we keep in view the principle of non-duality which underlines it. On the theistic side the Tāntrik system lays down that there is no Śiva without Śakti and no Śakti without Śiva.[3] The Tantras however do not rest here. The Tāntrik practices are connected with Yogic practices which make Śakti merge into Śiva and he who realises Śiva within himself attains *mokṣa*.[4]

As Śakti-worship (which was accompanied by Tāntrik practices) was quite popular during our period, it seems there was plenty of Tāntrism too.[5]

[1] *KJN*, III, vv. 24-26.

[2] *Ibid.*, XI, vv. 11-12.

[3] *Ibid.*, XVII, vv. 8-9.

[4] *Ibid.*, v. 37. The Tantra teaches us that just as fire is ever accompanied with burning capacity, so the conscious is ever associated with Śakti which is the power of seeing, hearing, touching, willing, smelling, tasting, thinking, hearing, breathing and feeling. Without the union of Śakti and Śiva, there is no creation. They two are inseparable indeed. Śiva, the pure consciousness is the silent observer of all experiences while it is Śakti who brings forth the universe, sustains it and destroys it to please Śiva. When the idea of the two merges, it is the state of *ānanda*, infinite joy and ecstacy, where there is no room for this universe of our practical experience. Bose and Haldar, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[5] It is evidenced also by the use of the terms like *Yogīn-pūjana*, *Vetāl-ārādhanā*, *bhairavopāsanā* and worship of *Maheśāsuramardinī*, by Dhanapāla (*TM*, pp. 34, 46, 49).

The Mahākāla of Ujjain is described as being attended by Yogins, Yoginīs, Siddhas, the experts in Tantra and Mantra (*Kuvalayamālā*, p. 13). Also, quite a few images of Bhairava and Vetāla, belonging to our period, have been discovered from Nimar (*PRAS, WC*, 1920-21, pp. 98-106).

Bhoja is said to have constructed furnaces for the preparation of Siddharasa, according to the instructions of the Siddhas. *Purātanaprabandha-saṁgraha*, p. 450.

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With the growth of literary activity under the patronage of the Paramāra princes, the goddess of learning *i.e.* Sarasvatī gained in popularity. She was also known as Vāgdevī-Bhāratī.[1] A fragment of a metrical hymn, the script of which belongs to the 11th or the 12th century A.D., in praise of the goddess of learning was found at Mandu.[2] She is invoked in a number of Paramāra inscriptions. Bhoja was a great devotee of Sarasvatī, who was the presiding deity of his famous Bhojaśālā of Dhārā'.[3] The famous British Museum stone image of Sarasvatī belongs to his period.[4] Sarasvatī was worshipped by the Jainas too. The Jaina inscription of Mt. Abu of the time of king Somasiṁha starts with an invocation to the goddess Sarasvatī.[5]

Our period is characterised by the multiplicity of the gods and goddesses, many of them of minor cadre and yet important enough for those who worshipped them. Of these the most important were Gaṇapati[6], who helps to attain the desired objectives of life, Kārttikeya, Madana,[7] Soma,[8] Agni, Varuṇeśvarī,[9] Śeśa,[10] Charchikā,[11] Limbāryā,[12] Ghaṇṭeśvara,[13] Hanumān,[14] and Āśāpūrā.[15] Bhoja in his *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* prescribes rules for the figures of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Balabhadra, Śiva, Kārttikeya, Lokapālas, Āśvinas, Śrīdevī, Kauśikī etc.[16] The worship of the Navagṛahas was also prevalent in our period. We find the group representation of the Navagṛahas from the Varman temples.[17]

1 *EI*, II, p. 182, v. 1 ; *Rūpam*, 1924, pp. 2-3.
2 *ABORI*, VIII, pp. 142-44.
3 *Vide* Chaps. VI and XVI.
4 *Ibid.*; *Rupam*, 1924, p. 2.
5 *EI*, VIII, p. 208, v. 1.
6 *JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 78 ; *SS*, II, Chap. 77.
7 *TM*, pp. 248-49 ; *SMK*, pp. 22-23.
8 *BG*, 1, pt. II, pp. 473-74, no. 5.
9 *EI*, XXI, p. 49.
10 *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378.
11 Bhilsa ins. of Naravarman, *PRAS, WC*, 1913-14, p. 59.
12 *IA*, XX, p. 311.
13 *PTAIOC*, 1919 (Poona Session), p. 324.
14 *ARRM*, 1914-15, p. 12.
15 *SMK*, p. 46.
16 *SS*, II, Chap. 77.
17 *RRAS, WC*, 1916-17, pp. 71-72.

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The Hindus expressed their adoration of the Supreme Spirit also in ways other than the worship of images. The belief in the existence of certain places as holy was nothing peculiar to this country alone. Such a belief has been found in all important religions of the world and a pilgrimage to them at least once in human life has played an important part in the religious life of our period.

The *tīrthas* were situated usually in the most beautiful places like the hill tops, mountains, forests and the confluence of the rivers. Some became important because of their association with some historical religious personage, or a religious *āchārya* or a religious monastery. Such places were more conducive for the religious meditation and as such attracted those who had a spiritual yearning. While the ascetics practised religious austerities in the *tīrthas*, the pious householders considered it incumbent upon them to pay a visit to some of those important holy places at least once in their lifetime.

Pilgrimages were encouraged by religious reformers like Śaṅkarāchārya, for they seemed to them a good means of the emotional integration of the people, and also because they brought together the members of an order, once or twice a year, to discuss matters pertaining to their discipline, doctrinal difficulties and differences, and the matters concerning the welfare of the order. For a Hindu, there was no other short cut to *svarga* than the pilgrimage. If one could not perform *yajñas* or give *dāna*, one could at least go on a *tīrtha-yātrā* to wash one's sins off !

Of the *tīrthas* in the territory of the Paramāras, the most famous was Ujjain on the bank of river Śiprā and with its famous temple of Mahākāla. It was a famous Śākta centre as we have noted already. It had Devasthānas and places of pilgrimage called after the names of the Ṛṣis.[1]

In 1055 A.D. we find king Jayasiṁha Paramāra granting a village for the Brāhmaṇas of the holy Amareśvara.[2] There are quite a few *tīrthas* bearing the name of Amareśvara; but the Amareśvara of the Māndhātā plates must be one on the opposite

1 *IA*, IV, p. 266.
2 *EI*, III, p. 49.

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side of Oṁkāranātha on the southern bank of the Narmada.[1] Oṁkareśvara, situated on the island of Māndhātā in the river Narmada, was a famous *jyotṛliṅga*.[2] The Kalvan inscription of prince Yaśovarman refers to Kalakalśvara-*tīrtha*.[3] The Vindhyan Hills were considered sacred being the abode of the goddess Vindhyavāsinī.[4] Arbudachala was the famous Śākta centre[5] and in it were situated the hermitage of the sage Vasiṣṭha, Mandākinīkuṇḍa, the temples of Achaleśvara Mahādeva and of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣbhadeva. The Paṭanārāyaṇa stone inscription of the Paramāra king Pratāpasiṁha refers to Guhya-*tīrtha* on the bank of Paṭṭanadī.[6] Another sacred place referred to by the inscriptions was Mahiṣmati.[7] A manuscript called *Pramānapallava* of Narasiṁha, composed in the 13th century, refers among others to Dhārā as a *tīrtha*,[8] which has been identified with Dhārā-*tīrtha* on the bank of river Narmada, referred to in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[9] The *Revākhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa* refers to Haṭṭakeśvara-*tīrtha* near the river Narmada.[10]

Every river was holy, but the holiest were Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Narmada. A dip in the river on some auspicious occasion was considered sacred. Betwā, Śiprā and Kapilā were also considered sacred rivers. Most of the Paramāra grants were made after the king had bathed either in one river or the other.[11]

Tīrtha-yātrās were not merely just the physical action of moving from one sacred place to another and bathing in a number of ponds, tanks and rivers; strict mental discipline was ordained for the *tīrtha-yātrī* (pilgrim). The Śāstras laid down

1 The Māndhāta plates of king Jayavarman II (*EI*, IX, p. 122, l. 29), describe Amreśvarakṣetra on the southern bank of the Revā (Narmada). See also *JAOS*, VII, p. 27.

2 See above, p. 348.

3 *EI*, XIX, p. 72, l. 12.

4 See above, p. 258 ; see also *Kathāsaritasāgara*.

5 See above, p. 258.

6 *IA*, XLV, p. 78, v. 10.

7 Māndhātā inscription of Devapāla, *EI*, IX, p. 109, l. 19.

8 *SEHNI*, p. 326.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Kalyāṇa, Skandapurāṇāṅka.*

11 For more *tīrthas* in the Paramāra dominions, see our App. VI.

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that only that *yātrī* secured the merit of the *tirtha-yātrā* who had full control over his organs.[1]

Jainism too must have been one of the leading religions in the country of the Paramāras as is evidenced by literature and archaeology.

The Jainas believe that the highest aim of the human endeavour is *kaivalya*, a state subject neither to birth nor death, nor to disease or pain. It is a condition of eternal happiness from which there is no return to this world of misery. This stage can be reached by right faith, right knowledge and right action.[2] But as everyone could not attain the highest goal at once, the *dharma*[3] has been divided into two sections *viz*, *gṛha-dharma*, *i.e.* religion for the householder and *yati* or *sādhu-dharma*, *i.e.* religion for the monks.[4]

Under the head *gṛha-dharma*, we have the five *anuvratas*, three *guṇavratas* and four *śikṣāpādas*.[5] The observer of the

[1] *Skanda, Kaumārīkhaṇḍa,* II, 6 ; *ibid.,* LXIV, 26.

[2] *HIP*, pp. 294-304.

[3] According to the *Samarāichchakahā* (pp. 154-60), the *dharma* is of four kinds, *viz*, (i) gifts (*dāna*), (ii) good conduct (*śīla*), (iii) ascetic practices (*tapas*) and (iv) religious reflections (bhāvanā). Gifts are of three kinds : the gift of knowledge, of security (*abhaya*) and things needful for religious life (*dharmopagraha*) ; the latter should be free from faults regarding the donor. Good conduct comprises the five vows, and subduing of the four cardinal vices. Ascetic practices are divided into internal and external ones. At last the religious reflections are enumerated.

[4] *Samarāichchakahā*. p. 52.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53, 160-62 ; *Dharmabindu*, II, III, 20. The *anuvratas* included cessation from *sthūla* or obvious forms of *ahiṁsā, asatya, steya*, unchaste conduct and greed.

The *guṇavratas* were :

(i) *Digvrata*—vow to restrain one's movements to a certain direction ;

(ii) *Bhogopabhogamāna*—limiting one's consumption of food, dress, etc. and

(iii) *Anarthadaṇḍavirati*—giving up bad thoughts, carelessness, gifts of carnivorous creatures and asking someone to do something sinful.

The *śikṣāpādas* were :

(i) *Samayika*—the acquisition of *śamayaka-darśana, jñana* and *charitra*, all of which are equally efficacious in the attainment of *kaivalya* ;

(*Contd. on next page*

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gṛha-dharma was exhorted to keep love and hatred at an arm's length and to give up evils like anger, greed and pride. He was to restrain the five senses and consume only a limited quantity without being addicted to food. He was to visit *chaityas*, show respect to the Jain-*āchāryas*, look after the sick and the weary and to live amidst the people adhering to similar religious faith. He was advised to marry a girl of a family of equal status, to give up residing in places within the sphere of military operations and to take refuge with someone who could protect him.[1] He was to reside in a house that was neither too open, nor too secluded to worship the gods and the *atithis*, listen daily to *dharma*, use reason to get at the truth and have *svādhayāya*.[2]

The *dharma* of a *yati* was much more difficult to practise. It consisted of complete forbearance, humility, simplicity, religious austerity, straightforwardness, self-control, truthfulness, purity, renunciation, charity, chastity and poverty. Among other things recommended are being with the *guru* and serving him, going out for alms, causing no fear to others, confession of mistakes, avoiding boasting, back-biting and harsh words; non-acceptance of improper things, not talking about women, giving up fear altogether, introspection, meditation and *saṁlekhanā*,[3] the last being resorted to only when one realised that death was near or that one's body had become useless. Thus alone could one disassociate oneself from the impure karmika material which holds down the soul.[4]

The followers of Jainism were divided into a number of sects of which the most important were the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras. These major sects were further divided into smaller groups called the *gaṇas*, *kulas*, *śākhās* and finally the

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(ii) *Deśavikāśika*—daily reminding oneself of the vow about *deśavirati*;

(iii) *Poṣadhopavāsa*—fasting on *parva* days like *aṣṭamī* and *chaturadaśī* and

(iv) *Atithi-saṁvibhāga*—providing food to guests.

1 *Svayogyā-śrayaṇam*, I, 20.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Saṁlekhanā* is the Jaina custom of fasting to death. It was preceded by repentance and confession.

4 *HIP*, p. 324.

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gachchhas,[1] which originated with the 84 disciples of Uddyotana Sūri

The Jain-*āchāryas* and writers received the support and patronage of the Paramāra kings almost from the time of the inception of the dynasty. Devasena, the author of the *Sāvyadhammadoha*, is said to have completed his *Darśanasāra* in V.S. 990=933 A.D., while staying in the Pārśvanātha temple of Dhārā.[2] The Jain-*āchāryas* Amitagati, Mahāsena and Dhaneśvara were patronised by Vākpati II.[3] Amitagati belonged to the Māthura and Mahāsena to the Lāḍa-Vāgaḍa Saṅgha,[4] the latter was the *guru* of Parpaṭa, the Mahattama of Sindhurāja.[5]

The great Jaina writer Prabhāchandra was patronised by Bhojadeva.[6] Dhanapāla wrote his *Tilakamañjarī* at the request of king Bhoja who conferred on the author, the title *Sarasvatī*. Under the influence of the *Tilakamañjarī* Bhoja is said to have become inclined towards Jainism.[7] Muni Devabhadra perhaps also received favour and patronage of Bhoja.[8] The famous Jain-*āchāryas* Jineśvarasūri and Buddhisāgara of Dhārānagarī, too might have flourished during Bhoja's time.[9] Another contemporary Jaina poet was Nayanandi,[10] who composed his *Sudarśana-charita* in 1043 A.D., while staying in the Jinavara-*vihāra* of Dhārā.

1 Deo, S.B., *History of the Jaina Monachism*, pp. 371-74.

2 *Bhāratī*, Feb. 1955, pp. 116-17 ; Hiralal, R.B., *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in C.P. and Berar*, p. 652.

3 Peterson, P., *A Third Report* of *Operations in Search* of *Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle*, 1884-86, App. III ; *vide infra* Chap. XVI.

4 *JSI*, pp. 275-76, 412.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

7 *TM*, Intro., pp. 4-5.

8 Mānatuṅga and Devabhadra were the two swans, says Muni Ratnasūri, whose lake *mānasa* was respectively in the minds (*mānas*) of *Śrī* Sātavāhana and king Bhoja, suggesting thereby that Devabhadra flourished at the court of Bhoja. *Bhāratī*, Feb. 1955, p. 119.

9 According to the *Prabhāvakacharita*, Jineśvara Sūri and Buddhisāgara, the *Paṇḍitas* of Dhārānagarī, defeated the *chaityavāsins* in a religious debate in the court of king Durlabharāja Chaulukya (1010-1020 A.D.). This would mean that these Jaina scholars were the contemporaries of Bhojadeva (1010-55 A.D.).

10 He, along with Prabhāchandra and Sarasvatīkumāra, was a disciple of Maṇikanandi, (*Anekānta*, X, pt. II, pp. 98ff.). For Nayanandi see also Hiralal, R.B., *op. cit.*, p. 758.

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Bhoja's successor Jayasiṁha I was a patron of the Jaina poet Prabhāchandra.[1] King Naravarman was a great friend of the Jainas. Samudraghoṣa, who studied *tarkaśāstra* (logic) in Malwa, was one of the famous figures at the court of Naravarman.[2] The most outstanding figure of this period, however, was *Āchārya* Jinavallabha,[3] whose name is closely associated with the *vidhichaitya* movement,[4] and by whose vast learning and selfless life Naravarman was extremely impressed. The king sent for him to Dhārā and in recognition of his poetic talent granted him three lacs of *pārutthas* or instead three villages.[5] But the Sūri refused to accept the grant and according to his instructions Naravarman got constructed *maṇḍapikas* on the Jaina temples of Chitor instead, and made a grant of two *drammas* daily from the customs house of Chitor for the maintenance of its two *vidhichaityas*.[6] The Bhojapura inscription of king Naravarman, dated 1100 A.D., refers to the installation of two Jaina (*i.e.* Tīrthaṅkara) images by a person

1 *JSI*, p. 289 ; *vide infra* Chap. XVI.

2 *Bhāratī*, Feb. 1955, p. 122.

3 See *Jyantakāvya Granthaprashasti* of Abhayatilakagaṇi.

4 By early medieval period Jainism had gone on the path of decadence (see Haribhadra's *Saṁbodhaprakaraṇa*), but was saved by the lifelong reformist activity of the Jaina monks. At the time when our period begins the reformist activity of the *Jaināchāryas* was at its full swing in Rajasthan and Malwa, in the hands of the *Kharataragachchhāchāryas* (*vide*, Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 222-27). The reformers were known as the *vidhimārgīs*, the religion they propounded was known as *vidhimārga* and the reformed *chaityas* were called the *vidhichaityas*.

Jinavallabha dedicated his life to the cause of the *vidhichaitya* movement and chose Rajasthan as the sphere of his missionary activity, and made Chitor, then under the Paramāras (*vide ante* Chap. VI), as his head quarters (Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 223-26). Jinavallabha, by his complete mastery on Indian philosophy, astrology, astronomy, and poetics, and by a life of absolute simplicity, sincerity and complete adherence to the words of Jina won over many followers, who carried the message of the master all over Rajasthan, Malwa, and especially in Vagaḍadeśa (*ibid.*; *Upadeśarasāyana* of Jinadatta Sūri, vv. 23-24, 52). *Vidhichaityas* were established in a number of towns (*Apabhraṁśa Kāvyatrayī*, Intro., pp. 20-24). Jinavallabha left behind enough literature to serve as a guide for the *vidhichaitya* movement (*i.e.* the *Saṅghapaṭṭaka*).

5 Jinapāla, *Kharataragachchha-bṛhad-gurvāvalī*, p. 13.

6 *Ibid.*

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named Chillaṇa.[1] Dhārā at this time seems to have become a great centre of the Jaina learning. Jinavallabha's successor Jinadatta Sūri sent his pupils Jinarakṣita, Sthirachandra, *Śrīmati* Jinamati and Pūrṇaśrī to Dhārā to study *Vṛtipañjikādi-lakṣaṇaśāstra*. Jinadatta himself visited Ujjain, Dhārā, Chitor and Vāgaḍa, all under the Paramāras, to propagate Jainism.[2]

During the period of the Chaulukyan occupation of Malwa under king Kumārapāla, Jainism received a fresh impetus in Malwa. About this time Dharasena lived at Dhārā whose disciple was *Āchārya* Mahāvīra, a learned scholar, well versed in all the principles of the Jaina cult and grammar, and who received the patronage of king Vindhyavarman.[3] Sometime during this period *Paṇḍita* Āśādhara also migrated to Dhārā,[4] and placed himself under the guidance of Mahāvīra.[5] Some other famous figures of this period were Jinapati Sūri[6] and Sumatigaṇi.[7]

Vindhyavarman's successor Subhaṭavarman was an enemy of Jainism and the Jainas. During his invasion of the Chaulukya dominions, Subhaṭavarman took away nineteen gold *kupolas* from the Jaina temples at Dabhoi and demolished a number of other Jaina temples in Gujarat.[8] After the accession of Arjunavarman, Jainism again reared its head up in Malwa. Āśādhara tells us that the territory of Arjunavarman was full of Jaina *śrāvakas* and that he himself left Dhārā and lived in the city of Nalakachhapura in order to advance the cause of the Jaina faith. He wrote a series of pamphlets dealing with various aspects of his cult. They contain the duties of the *yatis* and a metaphysical treatise relating to *syādvāda*, the essence of the teaching of the *arhaṭas* etc.[9] *Paṇḍita* Aśādhara, though he did not belong to the *Kharataragachchha*, realised the

1 *EI*, XXXV, p. 186.
2 Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 226,
3 *JSI*, p. 347.
4 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
5 *JSI*, p. 347; Bhandarkar, R.G., *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, p. 104.
6 He lived in the Śāntinātha Devagṛha of Dhārā in V.S. 1254= 1197 A.D. *Bhāratī*, Feb. 1955, p. 122.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Vide ante* Chap. IX.
9 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

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need of reform. He raised his voice against the so-called Jaina *sādhus*.[1] Āśādhara lived till the middle of the 13th century A.D., and was patronised also by Devapāla and Jaitugi Paramāra.[2]

In the middle of the 13th century A.D., Devendra seems to have been the head of a Jaina monastery at Ujjain.[3] He died in V.S. 1327=1270 A.D. in Malwa and thirteen days later his appointed successor Vidyānandasūri also passed away at Vidyāpura.[4] After that the brother of the latter, Dharmakīrtyupādhyāya received the *sūripada* under the name of Dharmaghoṣa.[5] He died in V.S. 1357=1300 A.D. It was largely due to the missionary, reformist and literary activity of these *āchāryas* that Jainism remained a living force in the Paramāra dominions.

Numerous Jaina temples were erected all over the country, in which were installed images of the Jina.[6] A number of Jaina fanes, which were built in the middle of the 11th century A.D., have been discovered at Un in the Nimar District.[7] Another group of three images of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort at Shergarh, which was a great religious establishment of the Jainas in the early medieval period,[8] have been discovered. The three Tīrthaṅkaras represented are Śānti (Śāntinātha), Kunthu (Kunthanātha) and Ara (Aranātha). The inscription in the temple contains verses in adoration of the three Tīrthaṅkaras. It also records that a *mahotsava* (festival) of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha was celebrated at the new *chaitya* on the seventh of the bright half of the month of Madhu (Chaitra) in 1105 A.D.[9] The *praśasti* was composed by a Jaina monk named Varasena.[10]

Jainism was equally strong in Arbudamaṇḍala, Bhinmāl and Vāgaḍadeśa. During the rule of the Paramāras, a number of

[1] In his *Dharmāmṛta*, he writes that in his time the Jainas did not live in accordance with the *Jinadharma*. They kept *jaṭās*, used ashes and other *lepanas*, they did not use the *mudrā* of the Jaina *dharma* and there were others who though outwardly looked like Digambara *sādhus*, but were actually like the *mlechchhas*. They neither mastered their senses, nor did they live in accordance to the Śāstras. They had become the masters of the Jaina monasteries. *JSI*, p. 488, fn. 1.

[2] *Vide* Chaps. X and XVI.

[3] *IA*, XI, p. 255.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *PRAS, WC*, 1919-20, pp. 81-98.

[7] *PRAS, WC*, 1920-21, pp. 98-106.

[8] *EI*, XXXI, pp. 81-86.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 84.

[10] *Ibid.*

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temples dedicated to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras were constructed in Abu.[1] The Paramāra rulers of Abu, though they were followers of Brahmanical religion,[2] extended their patronage to Jainism as well. The Jhāḍolī inscription of king Dhārāvarṣa, dated V.S. 1255=1198 A.D., refers to the grant of an orchard land to the temple of Śāntinātha by Śṛṅgāradevī, the queen of Dhārāvarṣa.[3] An inscription of the reign of the Paramāra king Kṛṣṇarāja of Bhinmāl, dated 967 A.D., records the installation of an image of Mahāvīra at Varkānā by one Vardhamāna of the Veṣṭika family.[4] One Durgāsvāmin, a pupil of Dellamahattara, was a famous Jaina preacher of this area. He left his house stored with wealth to become a Jaina monk, an example which led to the conversion of many. He died in Bhinmāl and was succeeded by Siddharṣi who wrote his famous work the *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā* in 905 A.D. The first copy of the work was written for him by Gaṇā, a female disciple of Durgāsvāmin.[5]

Vāgaḍa seems to have been a strong centre of the Jaina activity. The Arthuna inscription, dated V.S. 1166=1109 A.D., refers to the establishment of a Jaina temple and the consecration of an image of Vṛṣbhanātha by a Jaina named Bhūṣaṇa in the town of Arthuna.[6] The inscription starts with a verse in homage of Vītarāga.[7]

The Tāntrik element in Jainism had not gone to the extent as we find it in Hinduism, during our period. Mostly it was in the form of *mantravāda* and the deities were worshipped without the use of meat, wine and women for the attainment of superhuman or magical powers.[8] Reference to Jaina *mantravāda* is found in the *Dharmaparīkṣā* of Amitagati.[9] The *Tilakamañjarī*

1 *EI*, IX, pp. 146-55 ; *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

2 See above, pp. 353-54.

3 *Vide ante* Chap. XI.

4 *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 122.

5 Peterson, P., A *Fourth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Circle*, 1887-92, p. 5.

6 *PRAS, WC*, 1908-09, p. 49 ; *EI*, XXI, pp. 52-55.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Altekar, A.S., *Mantra Śāstra and Jainism.*

9 Bhandarkar, R.G., *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1884-87, pp. 13-20.

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refers to the *sādhanā* of the *māntrika* deities like Aparājitā, Śrī and the Aṣṭavidyās. King Meghavāhana is said to have recited the *mantra* of Aparājitā-*vidyā* three times a day with the intention of having a son. He was supposed to observe complete celibacy during the period of his *sādhanā*. The *mantra* was to be recited before the Rājalakṣmī.[1]

The importance of the *tīrthas* was the same in Jainism as it was in Brahmanism. The Digambaras have divided the *tīrthas* in two categories *i.e.* siddhakṣetras, places where Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras or Munis attained to their *nirvāṇa*; and *atiṣayakṣetra*, places which became *tīrthas* due to the popularity of a particular image or a deity.[2] The *Vividhatīrthakalpa* mentions Achaleśvara, Arbudachala-*tīrtha*, Kuṇḍageśvara, Abhinandana-deva-*tīrtha* and Ujjayinī-*tīrtha* as the sacred Jaina sites in the Paramāra territories.[3]

A review of the above religious systems shows that whatever their philosophic differences might have been, externally they were not very different from each other. Caste system had come to be accepted by all.[4] Social customs also did not differ; and though the amount of emphasis on *tīrthas* and charities might have differed, everyone believed in them. Tāntrik practices had found a home in every religious system, though in Jainism they did not perhaps reach the extent that they did in various sects of Brahmanism. Further, the people had learnt to live together and recognised the truth in the religious systems of others.[5]

[1] *TM*, pp. 25, v. 326.

[2] *JSI*, p. 422.

[3] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, pp. 11, 15, 57, 79, 81 and 88.

[4] *Vide infra* Chap. XV.

[5] (i) See for instance the *Tilakamañjarī* (p. 208), where Mañjayadevī is found worshipping Jaina *pratimā* with *gāytrī-japa*.

(ii) Somadeva, a Jaina writer of the 10th century A.D., writes :

निजागमोक्तमनुष्ठानं समस्तयतीनां स्वो धर्मः ।

धर्मव्यतिक्रमे यतीनां निजागमोक्तमेव प्रायश्चित्तम् ।

यो यस्मिन् देवे श्रद्धावान् स तं देवं प्रतिष्ठापयेत् । *Nītisūtrāṇī*, p. 35.

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपसर्वपुरुषार्थफलमिदं राज्यम् ।

यतोऽभ्युदयनिः श्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः । *Ibid.*, p. 25.

(iii) The Bhojapura fragmentary inscription of the time of king Bhoja, is a Jaina epigraph but its verse one is the invocation of Chamdrārddhamauli or god Śiva. *EI*, XXXV, p. 186.

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CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Section I

SOCIAL CONDITION

THE PARAMARA inscription do not throw much light on the social structure of the period. The meagre epigraphic evidence, however, gets amply supplemented by the contemporary literary works like the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* and *Tilakamañjarī*. It is with the help of this material that we shall now try to outline the essential features of society in the Paramāra dominions.

Society of the Paramāra dominions was no stranger to the age-old characteristic that is the caste system. Speaking theoretically the caste system did not undergo any special transformation during the Paramāra period. It had been fully established long before the advent of the Paramāras; and had, as is well known, its basis in cultural differences, professional differences, social duties and heredity *i.e.* in *varṇa* and *jāti*. It was the latter factor *i.e.* the *jāti* element, which predominated during our period.[1] But the connection between caste and occupation was by no means unalterable.

At the apex of the Paramāra society[2] were the Brāhmaṇas.[3] Their cultural supremacy, honoured position and privileges are clearly evident from our inscriptions,[4] which mention their

[1] See *MS*, IX, 317, for ideas on heredity.

[2] We are using the term in the sense of society in the Paramāra dominions.

[3] Mas'ūdī, an Arab traveller who reached India in the 10th century, remarked that the Brāhmaṇas were honoured by Indians as forming the most notable and illustrious caste (*HIED*, I, p. 19). Alberūnī states that the Brāhmaṇas were considered the very best of mankind and were not like the other castes bound to pay homage or perform services to the king. *Vide*, Sachau, I, p. 101 ; *ibid.*, II, p. 149.

[4] King Somasiṁha of Abu is said to have remitted the taxes of the Brāhmaṇas in 1233 A.D. *D.G's Annual* for 1907-08, p. 226 ; *vide ante* Chap. XI.

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gotra, *śākhā*, *pravāra* and the original place from where they migrated.[1] They are often mentioned with the prefixes like *Paṇḍita*, *Mahāpaṇḍita*, *Upādhyāya*, *Ṭhakkura*, *Śrotriya*, *Pāṭhaka* and *Bhaṭṭa*. These prefixes or family names had not become hereditary during our period, since the donee and his father and grandfather do not use the same distinctive designation. For instance, the donees of the Bhopal grant of *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra include *Āvasathika* Śrīdhara who was the son of *Agnihotrika* Bhāradvāja, *Paṁ*(*ḍita*) Madhusūdana, the son of *Āvasthika* Ḍelha; *Paṇḍita* Somadeva who was also a son of *Āvasthika* Ḍelha; *Ṭhakkura* Viṣṇu who was the son of *Paṁ*(*ḍita*) Soṇḍala.[2] The Māndhātā plates of Paramāra Jayasiṁha Jayavaraman II refer to *Dikṣita* Padmanābha Śarman, who was the son of *Avasthin* Vidyādharaśarman and grandson of *Cha*(*turvedin*) Kamalādharaśarman; *Paṁ*(*ḍita*) Śrīkāntaśarman, son of *Pañchapī*(*pā*)*ṭhin Miśra* Uddharaṇaśarman ; *Dvivedin* Govardhanśarman, son of *Paṁ*(*ḍita*) Vidyāpatiśarman and grandson of *Chaturvedin* Bhupati Śarman etc.[3]

The Brāhmaṇas of our period continued to be mentioned by their *gotras* such as Bhāradvāja, Kāśyapa, Chāpaliya, Gopālī, Vāsiṣṭha, Vatsa, Śāṇḍilya, Gautama, Garga, Mārkāṇḍeya, Pārāśara, Daumeya, Kṛṣṇātreya, Adavāha, Śaunaka, Sāṅkṛtya, Kauṇḍinya, Mudgala, Harita-Kutsa, Kautsa, Parāvasu, Audalya, Ātreya and Pavitra.[4] Of the *śākhas* that we hear of from the Paramāra inscriptions are Vajimādhyandina, Sāma-veda, Āśvalāyana, Mādhyandina, Kauthuma, Śāṅkhāyana, Vājasneya, Kaṭha and Rāṇāyanī.[5]

Sub-castes also had come into existence. Thus we hear of Dikṣitas, Śuklas, Tripāthīns, Agnihotrins, Yājñikas, Āvasthīkas and Pāṭhakas. Sometimes they were called after their original

[1] See for instance the Māndhātā plates of Devapāla (*EI*, IX, pp. 103-16) and the Bhopal plates of *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra (*EI*, XXIV, pp. 225-34), which give long lists of the Brāhmaṇa donees, all of whom are mentioned with their *gotras*, *śākhās* and *pravāras*.

[2] *EI*, XXIV, p. 231.

[3] *EI*, XXXII, pp. 140-41.

[4] *JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 76 ; *EI*, XXIV, pp. 233-34 ; *EI*, XIX, p. 243 ; *EI*, XXXII, pp. 153-56 ; *EI*, XI, pp. 182-83 ; *EI*, XVIII, pp. 323-24; *EI*, IX, pp. 115-16 ; *IA*, XLV, p. 78.

[5] *EI*, IX, pp. 115-16 ; *EI*, XXXII, pp. 153-56.

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habitat as Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, Dākṣināṭya Brāhmaṇas, Śrīmālī Brāhmaṇas[1], and the like.

This multiplication of divisions and sub-divisions was probably further strengthened as a consequence of the advent of the Muslims, which made free movement and intercommunication more difficult than before, and made some attempts for the preservation of Hindu culture extremely necessary. But the Brāhmaṇas tried to protect the culture of India by laying stress more on ceremonial purity and the purity of birth and blood than by reforming and liberalizing the tenets of Hindu *dharma*. Intercaste marriages were discouraged, eating from a Śūdra's hands was looked down upon,[2] and a Brāhmaṇa coming into habitual contact with a Muslim was considered inferior to one who could keep himself aloof.[3] Under such conditions, it was natural for sub-divisions to multiply as the time went on.

Learning (*adhyana*), teaching (*adhyāpana*), acceptance of gifts *(pratigṛha)* and conducting of sacrifices (*yajña*) were specially the duties reserved for the Brāhmaṇas.[4] A Brāhmaṇa boy was invested with the sacred thread and initiated into studies at a young age. By the time he was sixteen he generally completed his studies and could enter the next stage of his life.[5] The Brāhmaṇas devoted themselves to the study of the Vedas and the Śāstras which is indicated by the prefixes like Dvivedin, Trivedin and Chaturvedin. The locality of the Brāhmaṇas made the entire city look like a world of Brāhmaṇas; for at places rows of the *śrotriyas* moved up and down, engaged continuously in various rituals. At some places the recitations of the *khilas* and *nigamas* could be heard, and at others discourses were held on the Śrutis, Smṛtis, Vyākarṇaśāstra, Purāṇas and Itihāsa.[6]

1 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI ; Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 238; *BG*, I, pt. I, p. 473.

2 *KHDh*, III, pp. 926-68.

3 Sachau, II, pp. 134-35.

4 *Atri-saṁhita*, 13 ; *Smṛtināma-samuchchaya*, pp. 15, 399.

5 क्रमेण चायमुपनीतो विधिवदधीतसकलवेदवेदाङ्गोऽधिगतसकलशास्त्रः षोडशवर्षदेशीयः सवृत्तः । *SMK*, p. 19.

6 क्वचिदनवरतधर्मव्यापारगम्भीरश्रोत्रियपरम्परापरिगततया पठ्यमानखिलनिगमध्वनिव - - - याचारव्यायमानाखिलपुराणेतिहासश्रुतिस्मृतितया च ब्रह्मलोकायते, क्वचिद्यौवनमदमत्त । *Ibid.*, p. 3 ; *TM*, p. 55.

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The Brāhmaṇas mastered different systems of Indian philosophy and participated in literary and philosophic disputations at the royal courts.[1] Some of them might have given up worldly life and become *sanyāsins*. Some perhaps joined the religious orders like the Śaiva and Pāśupata organisations, which were pretty popular in the Paramāra kingdoms.[2] A few of them acted as the hereditary *purohitas*, *rājagurus*[3] and priests of the kings. On the whole the Brāhmaṇas of this period appear to have tried to follow the path laid down by the Śrutis and Smṛtis.[4]

The lesser educated among them earned their livelihood by reciting *svastivāchana* and by conducting temple-worship.[5] But as all spheres of activity were open to them,[6] though conditionally under special circumstances, they followed also the callings which were traditionally reserved for other castes. Some Brāhmaṇas are known to have become rulers and for a student of the Paramāra history, the best example perhaps is that of the Paramāras themselves, who might, originally, have been Brāhmaṇas of the Vāsiṣṭha *gotra*.[7] Similar was the case of the Chauhāns, the Guhilas and many other ruling dynasties.[8] In the *Śṛṅgāramanjarīkathā* we read of a Brāhmaṇa who became a king.[9] The Brāhmaṇas acted as the *Sāndhivigrahikas* and *Dūtakas* under the Paramāras. *Mahāpaṇḍita* Bilhaṇa was the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of Vindhyavarman, Arjunavarman and Devapāla.[10] *Ṭhakkura*, Viṣṇu was the *Dūtaka* of the Harsola grant of king Sīyaka II.[11] The *Purohita*, the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmin and the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious Puruṣottama were the *Dūtakas* of Yaśovarman. The Brāhmaṇas

[1] Note for instance the description of the court of king Bhojadeva in the *Tilakamañjarī*, *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and *Śṛṅgāramañjarikathā*.

[2] *Vide ante* Chap. XIV.

[3] *Vide ante*, Chap. XIII.

[4] *Cf.* श्रुतिस्मृतित्युदितेन वर्त्मना संचरमाणस्य ।

[5] *EI*, XXIII, p. 140 ; *IA*, XLIII, p. 193.

[6] According to the Smṛtis, if a Brāhmaṇa failed to earn his livelihood by traditional occupations, he could take resort to those of a Kṣatriya. *MS*, X, 81.

[7] *Vide ante* Chap. II.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *SMK*, p. 55.

[10] *JASB*, V (1836), p. 379 ; *JAOS*, VII, p. 33 ; *EI*, IX, p. 113.

[11] *EI*, XIX, p. 243.

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were the composers[1] and engravers[2] of many a royal *praśastis* of the Paramāras. From a reference in the *Śṛṅgāramanjarīkathā* to a Brāhmaṇa Mādhava, who returned from Siṁhaladvīpa after doing good business,[3] it appears that people did not feel it anything strange if they were told that a certain Brāhmaṇa had even adopted the profession of a Vaiśya.[4]

A large number of Brāhmaṇa families migrated and seem to have settled in Malwa under the Paramāras, from places as far as Hastinapur, Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Madhyadeśa,[5] Baḍavī in Karnāṭaka, Mānyakheṭa, Magadha and Gauḍa, and were the recipients of royal donations.[6]

The Jainas ridicuied the claims of the Brāhmaṇas and their attacks might have had some influence on the status of the Brāhmaṇas in the Jaina predominated areas, for the Jaina's were quite an influential minority. But all things considered the Brāhmaṇas of our period maintained their influential position in the Paramāra society not only on account of birth, but also due to their learning and character.

In contrast to Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas[7] are hardly mentioned as such in the Paramāra epigraphic records, though

[1] The Vasantgarh inscription of king Pūrṇapāla was composed by Brāhmaṇa Matṛśarman (*EI*, IX, p. 15); Brāhmaṇa Jogeśvara was the composer of the Kalvan inscription of Yaśovarman (*EI*, XIX, p. 73); Devapāla's Harsauḍa inscription was composed by a Brāhmaṇa (*IA*, XX, p. 312); Brāhmaṇa Harṣadeva was the composer of the Māndhātā inscription of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II (*EI*, IX, p. 123).

[2] *Cf.* The Bhopal inscription of Arjunavarman was engraved by *Paṇḍita* Bappaideva. *JAOS*, VII, p. 33.

[3] *SMK*, p. 28.

[4] The Smṛtis allow the Brāhmaṇas to trade with certain restrictions. *Smṛtināma-samuchchaya*, p. 10.

[5] The Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeśa were honoured by the Paramāra rulers. In a land grant of Vākpati II, it is recorded that a number of Brāhmaṇas were offered donations by the king after they had migrated to Malwa from Madhyadeśa (*IA*, VI, pp. 51-52). See also the *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, 1959 (*A.S. Altekar Memorial Vol.*), p. 311.

[6] *EI*, IX, pp. 115-16; *IA*, VI, pp. 52 and 54; *PRAS, WC*, 1920-21, p. 54.

[7] According to the *varṇa-dharma*, the Kṣatriyas were next only to Brāhmaṇas in the social hierarchy. A Kṣatriya had to be brave, self controlled, efficient in protecting the people and punishing the wicked. Performing sacrifices, making gifts and reading the Vedas, were his penances. *Smṛtināma-samuchchaya*, p. 10; *Pārāśara Smṛti*, I, 64.

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it can be said that they are indicated by terminations like *varman*.[1] In the case of Kṣatriyas it is the *kula* (clan) that is prominently mentioned. As to *gotra*, it practically disappeared,[2] for the Kṣatriyas began to use the *gotras* of their *purohitas*,[3] the reason for this perhaps being either the increasing ignorance of the Vedas among the Kṣatriyas, or perhaps due to the fact that the Rājaputras or Rajputs did not originally belong to the Kṣatriya stock. They might have been people of different castes, communities, tribes and cultures who had only one common factor, that is the adoption of the warriors profession.[4] Many of them may not have had any *gotra* and those who had may have forgotten it during the long process of their assimilation into the fold of Hinduism.[5] Under the circumstances it is not surprising to find Medhātithi stating that the distinction of *gotra* and *pravāra* applied only to Brāhmaṇas[6] and Mitākṣara laying down that the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas should adopt the *gotra* and *pravāra* of their *purohitas* inasmuch as they had no *gotra* of their own.[7]

The rulers, the feudatory chiefs, many administrative officers and the warriors largely came from the Rajput clans. Charitable, pleasure-loving and valorous, they preferred to die on the battlefield rather than in the beds.[8]

The third important class of society was that of the Vaiśyas for whose livelihood the Smṛtis prescribe agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade and money-lending.[9] Of them the first two gradually passed into the hands of the Śūdras, probably on account of the Vaiśyas' growing distaste for a profession involving *hiṁsā*.[10] Vaiśya was the rich man of the community

[1] See *Mānasollāsa*.

[2] The mention of the *gotra* of the Kṣatriya family of the Chāhamānas in the Māndhātā inscription of Jayasiṁha Jayavarman II (*EI*, XXXII, p. 155) is rather interesting and an exception.

[3] *RKI*, I, pp. 353-54.

[4] Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 242-44.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Medhātithi on *MS*, III, 5.

[7] Mitākṣara on *Yājña*, I, 53.

[8] अधर्मः क्षत्रियस्यैष यच्छय्यामरणं भवेत् । See our Chap. XII.

[9] *MS*, IX, 326-33.

[10] Jainism, which was popular among the trading classes of Malwa and the adjoining territories, especially did not encourage the pursuit of agriculture.

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and his status in society was determined by his wealth.[1] The city's wealth and splendour depended upon the wealth of its merchants (*śreṣṭhins*). Places like Śrīmāla, Kirātakūpa and Prahlādanapura, all in the Paramāra dominions, owed their prosperity to them. The Jaina literature of the period reflects the general prosperity of the Vaiśya community.

The *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* represents the merchant's son as being well up in all arts and sciences like the methods of handling horse vehicles (*aśva-vāhana vidhi*), care of elephants (*gajāyurveda*), the art of business (*vaṇīka-kalā*), the secrets of gambling (*dhyūtarahasya*), the science of harlotry (*vaiśikopaniṣad*) and the arts of painting (*chitrakalā*), cutting leaves (*patrachchhedana*) and binding books (*pust-aprabhṛti-kalā*).[2] But this was, however, far from being the character of every Vaiśya.

Among the Vaiśyas, as in other castes, the influence of *varṇa* and *jāti* was present. The doors of the Vaiśya caste were open to those who took up the profession of trade. Sometimes the Vaiśyas gave up their hereditary profession.[3]

The Vaiśyas were influential in the royal courts. Some of them were appointed as officers in local administration and the merchants' guilds played an important part in the town administration.[4] They contributed liberally to the charitable and literary activities of the period. The Vaiśyas acted also as the trustees of the temples as is proved by the references to the *mahājanagoṣṭhis* in the inscriptions of our period.[5]

The view that the Vaiśyas were levelled down to the position of the Śūdras by 1000 A.D., is not supported by the evidence of our period. The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and *Mānasāra*—books on town-planning—give them a distinct place in the urban society, which though inferior to that of a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya, is distinctly above that of a Śūdra. Lakṣmīdhara in his *Kṛtyakalpataru*, permits the study of the Vedas to the

[1] *MS*, II, 156.
[2] *SMK*, p. 56.
[3] For instance note the attitude of Ratnadatta in the eighth tale of the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*.
[4] *Vide ante* Chap. XIII.
[5] *EI*, VIII, p. 222.

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Vaiśyas.[1] Further by laying down that a Vaiśya should not trade in certain articles such as salt, wine, curds, clarified butter, milk, lac, hides, flesh, indigo, poison, arms and idols,[2] they appear to have given the Vaiśya a standard very much different from that of a Śūdra.

No mention of the Śūdras is found in the Paramāra records, which indicates that people of the low castes were known by their profession rather than by their class.

According to the Smṛtis a Śūdra was neither permitted to read the Vedas nor was he expected to have any *āśrama* except *gṛhastha*.[3] Though treated as one *varṇa* by the Smṛtis, they were actually a number of people, clans and tribes who had entered the Āryan fold but had not been assigned the higher status of a *dvijāti*. Included among the Śūdras were the many so-called mixed castes (*Śūdravarga* of the *Amarakośa*), the majority of agricultural workers and agriculturists, members of many craftmen's guilds and everyone who, though he could not be called an *antyaja* and a *mlechchha* on account of the clean nature of his work, was even then not considered a member of the three high castes for various reasons. We have epigraphic references for goldsmiths (*svarṇakāras*), architects (*sthapatis*), carpenters, engravers (*sūtradhāras*), oilmen (*telīs*), potters, garland-makers, sugar-boilers, *rathakāras* and *rūpakāras*. The *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* also refers to an oilman (*tailapa*), doing his hereditary work and prospering in it. The medicine man (*vaidya*), agriculturist (*kṛṣaka-jana*), smith (*lohakāra*), are mentioned too. To this list are added the fortune-tellers (*śakunikas*) and persons proficient in magic (*indra-jālika-vidyā*) and mesmerism (*mohana-vidyā*).

Though they suffered from religious disabilities[4] and were not regarded as fit recipients of gifts, the position of the Śūdras seems to have improved a good deal due to various reasons. Agriculture, handicrafts and cattle-rearing being in the hands of the Śūdras, they formed an important section of society, economically. They were the real Vaiśyas of our period. Their improved economic position changed their social status as well.

[1] *Gṛhasthakāṇḍa*, p. 258.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Medhātithi on *MS*, VI, 97.
[4] *Ibid.*

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When the reformist movements like Śaivism and Jainism welcomed them without any stigma of inferiority, regard for them increased still further. Many of the Tāntrik teachers were Śūdras themselves.[1] This new change is reflected by the commentator Madhātithi (9th century A.D. or so), when he concedes to a Śūdra the right to private property, freedom from waiting on the three higher *varṇas* and the performance of *saṁskāras*, though without Vedic *mantras*.[2]

Most of the social and economic affairs of these classes were conducted through their local organizations known as *śreṇīs* or guilds.[3]

There were many other castes in the Paramāra dominions, whose exact position in the caste system is rather uncertain. The Kāyasthas, who were known to Yājñavalkya only as writers and accountants[4], seem to have in our period become grouped into one caste. They were now associated with judiciary, general administration and accounts and several departments of the state. Quite a few of the Paramāra grants were drafted by the Kāyasthas.[5] The Victoria Hall Udaipur inscription of the Paramāras of Malwa refers to one Rudrāditya and his grandson Mahīpati as Kāyastha-*kuñjaras* or prominent Kāyasthas.[6] The Kāyasthas are mentioned also in the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*. But the references to them are not always complimentary, for like many government officials of later period, some of the Kāyastha officials too proved dishonest and corrupt administrators. Some of these remarks might have been inspired perhaps by professional rivalry.

Last in the social scale stood the *antyajas*, performing functions either too dirty by nature or involving cruelty to dumb creatures, and we can distinguish two types of them. The

[1] *KJN*, Intro., p. 17.

[2] Medhātithi on *MS*, III, 156 and VIII, 425.

[3] Majumdar, R.C., *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Chap. I.

[4] *Yājna*, I, 336.

[5] *Cf.* Kāyastha Guṇadhara drafted the Harsoḷa inscription of Siyaka II (*EI*, XIX, p. 243); the charter of Maṇḍalīka of Vāgaḍa was composed by Kāyastha Śrīdhara (*EI*, XXI, p. 50); the Tilakawāḍā inscription of Bhojadeva was written by Kāyastha Sohika, son of Aivala. *PTAIOC*, 1919 (Poona session), p. 325.

[6] *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 124.

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Kirātas, the Barbaras and the Bhillas who had their residences in the forests[1], formed one category. The forests were full of Śābaras, who had snub noses, high cheek-bones, pointed chins and small ears.[2] Their eyes were red. They kept beards, carried bows and arrows in their hands and blowing horns moved in groups, frightening away not only the travellers but even the wild beasts.[3] In their forest residences they had the fullest freedom but in the Āryan settlement they were the lowest of the low. The *Kuvalayamālā* mentions Chaṇḍālas, Bhillas, Doṁbas, Saṅkārikas, Matsyabandhas, as the people who had no *dharma*, *artha* or *kāma* and were like the *mlechchhas*.[4]

To the second category belonged those *antyajas* about whom the following detailed list has been given with their professions by Alberūnī :

the jugglar,
the basket and shield maker,
the sailor,
the fisherman,
the hunter of wild birds and of animals,
the weaver,
the fuller,
the shoemaker,
the hāḍī,
the doma,
the chaṇḍāla and
the badhatau

Of these the first six were higher in status; the weaver, fuller and shoe-maker formed one section and intermarried and the last four were excluded from social contact even by the depressed classes.[5] Thus the *antyajas* too had developed a class hierarchy, some classes being a little more depressed and despised than the others.

The caste system during that period had become so fully entrenched in society that any suggestion of its abolition or

[1] *SMK*, p. 84.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 40.
[5] Sachau, I, p. 101.

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comment on its nature must have been regarded as reprehensible if not sinful, specially by the higher classes. The way it was viewed by them can perhaps be seen from a *praśasti* of 1208 A.D., which states, 'Glory to Avanti, the home of rich men, which protects the world by the heroism of its lords, cleanses it by the pure and brilliant life of the Brāhmaṇas, who follow the way prescribed by the revealed texts, and which gladdens it through the fragrance arising from the dalliance of its passionate youths'.[1] The writer, however, of this was a Brāhmaṇa. The Jainas had ideas of it which are in some ways different from these.

Practically nothing is known about the position of women from the Paramāra inscriptions. Queens have been mentioned in a few inscriptions but only two have been recorded to have done something of public utility within their own rights. Queen Lāhinī, the sister of king Pūrṇapāla of Abu, got repaired the temple of the Sun-god and got excavated a tank at Vaṭapura in 1042 A.D.[2] Śṛṅgāradevī, the queen of Dhārāvarṣa of Abu made a land grant in her own right to the temple of Śāntinātha in 1198 A.D.[3] We do not hear of queens ruling the country or a part of it in their own right or even acting as regents during our period. They had to live in the *antaḥpura* which was to be guarded by eunuchs.

The literature of the period reveals that though women were respected in society, the birth of a daughter was not always welcomed. Boys were preferred,[4] and their birth was celebrated. The couples worshipped the gods so that they could have a son,[5] whereas the birth of a daughter increased the anxiety in her parents mind[6] and this anxiety increased when the girl attained the age of marriage.

The girls of higher classes were given some education which included the arts of dancing, music and painting.[7] But the

[1] *IA*, XI, p. 221.
[2] *EI*, IX, pp. 12-15 ; *vide ante* Chap. XI.
[3] See above, p. 173, fn. 4 (viii).
[4] Without begetting a son says the *SMK* a man never frees himself from the debt of his ancestors (p. 85).
[5] *TM*, pp. 17-18.
[6] *Upamiti*, p. 698 ; *JP*, I, 14-72.
[7] *TM*, p. 215.

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womenfolk of lower classes may have remained illiterate though not exactly uneducated, for they had opportunities of listening to religious and philosophic discourses. Some of them however were educated enough to head a Śaivite monastery at Ujjain.[1] The poetess Sītā was well known for her poetry.[2] *Paṇḍitā* Harasukhā the mother of Janna *Telī* engraved the Jhālrāpātan inscription of the time of king Udayāditya.[3]

Besides, there was a class of courtesans whose position seems to have been superior to that of common women. They were the privileged women in society, whose company was sought by kings and wealthy merchants. The *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* of Bhoja I is concerned mainly with this important section of society. Bhoja describes a courtesan as *ubhayachatuḥ-ṣaṣṭijñāna i.e.* one who was accomplished in both kinds of sixty-four arts, included among which were music, painting, dancing, arts for the purpose of increasing one's personal charms, entertaining games, purely intellectual pursuits like *pustakavāchana* and *kāvya-samasyā-pūrti* and science of erotics. The heroine of the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* is a courtesan of the first order. Her beauty is unparalleled, her graces befit her beauty, her dresses and adornments are the choicest and her language and behaviour polished and decorous. In dancing and music she excells others and her intellectual development makes her a worthy companion of the most learned. It is not surprising therefore that the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣtriyas, Vaiśyas and Kāyasthas all waited at her door with gifts to offer. Such courtesans must have influenced a considerable number of people in society.

Girls had to stay under the care of their fathers before marriage. The next step in a woman's career was her marriage. The Smṛtis disallowed marriage with a *sagotra* or a *sapiṇḍa* girl. Marriages took place usually at the house of the bride's father. Husband's caste, *gotra*, *pravāra*, learning, age, character, wealth and the country of his birth were the main considerations. The dowry system in the sense of something already promised

[1] Yogeśvarī was the head of a Śaiva monastery at Ujjain. *IA*, XI, pp. 221-22 ; *vide ante* Chap. XIV.

[2] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.

[3] *JPASB*, X, 1914 (New Series), p. 242.

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was perhaps not known.[1] But large sums of money, gifts and jewellery were given to the girl.[2] Love marriages were not unknown during our period.[3] If the testimony of the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* and *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* be regarded valid, *svayaṁvara* marriages too would have been in vogue.[4] But by and large society recognised the father's right to find a suitable husband for the girl and to give her away in marriage to a bride-groom of his own choice. And a very good proof of this lies in the fact that even in a romance like the *Tilakamañjarī*, the couple though crazily in love with each other, await the parent's sanction before marrying.[5]

In the royal families the daughters were sometimes used in bringing about peace between the rival families.[6] Among the Paramāras, Udayāditya's daughter Śyāmalādevī was married to a Guhila king,[7] probably with this objective. Prince Jagaddeva gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of east Bengal.[8] Arjunavarman's first queen was the daughter of a Kuntala king and the second a Chaulukya princess.[9] The Gaṅga king Narasiṁha married the daughter of a king of Malwa.[10] A Gujarat prince married a princess of the Paramāra family.[11]

As to the age of marriage, there is no direct evidence available. Leaving aside a few instances of love marriages, or *svayaṁvara* marriages, it seems that people followed the dictates of the Smṛtis.[12] Somadeva puts the marriageable age

[1] Sachau, II, p. 155.

[2] *Samarāichchakahā*, pp. 93-101.

[3] *i.e.* Sindhurāja's marriage with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā, *vide ante* Chap. V.

[4] *DV*, VII, vv. 66, 73, 74 ; *PV*, V, v. 32.

[5] *TM*, pp. 103-04.

[6] Matrimonial alliances have been recommended to end *vigraha* by Dhanapāla. *TM*, p. 243.

[7] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

[8] *Vide infra* App. IV.

[9] *Vide ante* Chap. IX.

[10] *EI*, V, App., p. 53, no. 362.

[11] *ARMAD*, 1929.

[12] According to Medhātithi the right time for a girl to be given in marriage was eighth year (on *MS*, IX, 4). Alberūnī also records that the Hindus marry at a very young age. Sachau, II, p. 154.

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of a girl at twelve.[1] Marriages were arranged sometimes even before birth.[2]

Anuloma marriages became rare during our period, Marriages between people belonging to different religious sects were not favoured.

With marriage began the second phase in a woman's life. She was then expected to stay with her husband who was now everything for her. The marriage bond was indissoluble. Every sect emphasised a woman's duty of obedience to and absolute dependence on her husband and required her to regard her husband not only as her lord but her deity.[3] Under such circumstances *satī* system became popular and widow remarriages were discouraged. We have no evidence to show the prevalence of *śati* system in the Paramāra dominions, but as the Paramāras were Rajputs and among the Rajputs *satī* system was popular during this period,[4] it is not unlikely that this system prevailed in the Paramāra territories as well. The widows who did not commit *satī*, lived under the care of their male relatives. For instance Queen Lāhinī, the widowed sister of king Pūrṇapāla, was living under the care and supervision of her brother.[5]

Another evil from which the women of our period suffered was the institution of polygamy. King Arjunavarman married a Gujarat princess as well as a Kuntala princess. King Dhārāvarṣa of Abu had more than one queen. The kings' example would have been followed by the nobles, the feudatory chiefs and the rich people of society. They may have kept in their harems keeps as well as slave girls. In the *Tilakamañjarī* we read of slave girls going towards the funeral pyre to burn themselves when they heard of the death of their master.[6]

The women in general occupied a position very much inferior to that of the male head of the family, whether he was the father, brother, husband or even her own son. A Woman's

[1] द्वादशवर्षा स्त्री, षोडशवर्षः पुमांश्च प्राप्तव्यवहारौ भवतः। *Nītisūtrāṇī, Vivāha-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 96.

[2] *TM*, p. 52.

[3] *Kuvalayamālā* pp. 54, 181, 265 ; *JP*, 8-79, 10-47 ; *Mbh*, *Anuśāsana-parva*, 46, 55.

[4] Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[5] *EI*, IX, pp. 12-15.

[6] *TM*, p. 156.

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function was not rated very high, for a wife was wedded for 'fame, wealth and offspring'.[1] She was considered as difficult to be pleased, as one having bad intentions, fickle by nature, difficult to be protected and the one who became detached very soon and one who cherished love for the low born.[2] Her duties according to Somadeva, were confined to household work and looking after the children.[3] She was no longer the better half without whom no religious function could take place, the half without whom a man's life whether spiritual or worldly would never be full.[4] Among the Jainas only the Śvetāmbaras believed in the *mukti* of women. The Jaina writer Prabhāchandra discusses the point at a great length and says that a woman who could not become the master of the house, could not get appointed as an *amātya* or as a *yuvarāja* in this world, how could she attain *mokṣa* and enter into heaven.[5] Women could not inherit property, they could only have what is termed as the *strīdhana*. The property of the heirless lapsed to the state.

The women were respected as mothers. Quite a few land grants of the Paramāra kings were made in order to increase the spiritual welfare of the mother and the father of the donor. King Yaśovarman made a land grant on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of his mother Momalādevī in 1135 A.D.[6] Women were exempted from the capital punishment; they could only be deported from the state.[7]

Our best account of the dress, ornaments and cosmetics during our period is supplied by the *Tilakamañjarī*, *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* and the recently published *Prince of Wales Museum Stone Inscription*[8] *from Dhāra*.[9]

[1] *SMK*, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 84 ; note the following verse of Somadeva:

नातीव स्त्रियो व्युत्पादनीयाः, यतः स्वभावसुभगोऽपि

शस्त्रोपदेशः स्त्रीषु शस्त्रीषु (तीक्ष्णासु or छुरिकासु) पयोलव इव विषमतां प्रतिपद्यते। *Nītisūtrāṇi*, p. 69.

[3] अपत्यपोषणे गृहकर्मणि शरीर संस्कारणे भर्तुः

शयनादसरे च स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यं, नान्यत्र। *Ibid.*

[4] *KHDh*, II, pt. I, p. 627, fn. [5] *Kumudachandra, Strīmuktivāda*, p. 369.

[6] *Cf. IA*, XIX, pp. 351-52. [7] *Samarāichchakahā*, pp. 62, 561.

[8] Hereafter referred to as *PWMI*.

[9] *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XVII (1957), pt. II, pp. 130-46 ; *Dr. Dhirendra Verma Commemoration Volume*, pp. 21ff.

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The usual dress may have been the *adhovasana* and an *uttarīya i.e.* garments to cover the lower and the upper part of the body respectively. Men wore *pugrees*.[1] Women wore *sārīs*, the material of which may have varied from season to season. They also used what is called a *kurpasaka* in the winters.[2] They used *cholīs* (blouses), one coloured or multi-coloured, *ghāgharās* (skirts) and *pahiraṇa*.[3] The *kāṁchū* or *kaṁyyū-cholī*, which covered the breasts onlo partly, seems to have been the fashion of the day.[4] They also used woollen petticoats in the winters.[5] Wealthy women used excellent apparels.[6] Rich people used silk for their dress. China silk seems to have been very popular.[7] Of the colours, white coloured garments seem to have been popular in Malwa and white dress was worn on all the auspicious occasions. Sometimes ladies used green and red garments.

The women wore long hair, braided or knotted, which was always decorated with seasonal flowers.[8]

Tāḍaṅka,[9] *daṅtapatra*,[10] *kaṁyyaḍi*,[11] *kuṇḍala*,[12] *śravaṇapāśa*,[13] *karṇapūra*,[14] *karaḍiṁva*,[15] and *kāṁchaḍi*[16] were the ear ornaments. Sometimes the leaves of the Palm tree or ornaments having the shape of a palm leaf were also used to adorn the ears.[17] Of the necklaces we hear of various types *viz*, *jālakaṇṭhī* (netted necklace),[18] the plain necklace,[19] *ekāvalī* (single string) necklace,[20] the *sonajāla* (golden net)[21] and *chanchal-hāra*, whose pendant touched the *nābhi*,[22] and bejewelled necklaces and flower garlands adorned the necks of the women of Malwa. Those who were poor seem to have satisfied themselves with yarn necklaces only and consequently we hear of *gaṇṭhīa-tagāu* (knotted thread), three stringed cotton yarn and plain cotton yarn

[1] *TM*, p. 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[3] *PWMI*, ll, 38, 52.
[4] *Ibid.*, l. 49.
[5] *SMK*, p. 73.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[7] *TM*, p. 130.
[8] *SMK*, p. 75, description of Śṛṅgāramañjarī; *PWMI*, ll. 59, 61-62, 87.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *TM*, p. 301.
[11] *PWMI*, l. 47.
[12] *TM*, p. 130.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *PWMI*, l. 32.
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *PWMI*, l. 68.
[18] *Ibid.*, l. 5.
[19] *Ibid.*, l. 18.
[20] *Ibid.*, l. 111.
[21] *Ibid.*, l. 71 ; *TM*, p. 301.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

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necklaces.[1] *Valaya*,[2] *kaṅkaṇa*, *keyūra*,[2] *chaṁdahāī*,[3] *rīṭhās*,[4] *māṭhīs*[5] and gold bangles[6] were worn on arms[7] and hands. The feet of the women of Malwa were adorned with *pāhaṁsiyas* and constantly resounded with the tinkling of *nūpuras*.[8] They used rings, studded with precious stones on the fingers.[9] *Padmarāgamaṇijhurmikā* (a kind of foot ornament) was also used.[10] *Māṇikyavalaya* was their thigh ornament.[11]

The women applied fragrant sandal-powder, camphor, *kumkum* and *rodhra* pollen to their bosoms.[12] Their palms and feet were painted with the *alakṭaka* dye.[13] Camphor powder (*karpūra-chūrṇa*) was used in abundance.[14] The women applied red round *ṭīkā* on their foreheads.[15] They applied collyrium to their eyes,[16] and sometimes dyed their hair.[17] Betel leaves were chewed for reddening their lips and the teeth.[18] Scented oils and perfumes were used by them[19] as well as by men, who made abundant use also of ornaments and beautiful rich clothes.

Speaking of the eating and drinking habits of the people during the period under review, wheat, rice, pulses, barley, *til*, *vrihi*, *jowār*, *kodrava*, *mudga*, millet, oil, ghee, honey and meat are among the food articles, mentioned in the Paramāra inscriptions. Fruits, specially mango seems to have been very popular. Under the growing influence of Jainism, vegetarianism must have become more popular. As to the Brāhmaṇas eating meat, we have only one solitary reference in an inscription of Bhojadeva.[20] As for the Kṣatriyas who were the fighters and for whom hunting was one of the hobbies, meat must have formed an important part of their diet. If we are to believe the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* then drinking was nothing unknown even among the Brāhmaṇas and women of Malwa. Among the vegetarians, use of milk and milk products and sweets would

1 *PWMI*, ll. 72-73, 74, 76.
2 *TM*, p. 226.
3 *PWMI*, l. 77.
4 *Ibid.*, l. 22.
5 *Ibid.*, l. 37.
6 *Ibid.*, l. 119.
7 *Ibid.*, l. 24.
8 *Ibid.*, l. 39 ; *TM*, p. 226.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 226.
11 *Ibid.*
12 See the ninth tale of the *SMK*.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 47 ; *PWMI*, l. 127.
14 *TM*, p. 130.
15 *PWMI*, ll. 45, 65, 66, 94.
16 *Ibid.*, ll. 31, 46, 90.
17 *Ibid.*, l. 89.
18 *Ibid.*, ll. 107-08.
19 See the description of Aśokavatī in the ninth tale of the *SMK*.
20 *IHQ*, VIII, p. 311.

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have been quite popular. Chewing the betel leave (*tāmbula*) with a piece of camphor[1] was popular among men as well as women.

The people in the Paramāra territories observed fasts and celebrated a number of festivals. Devotthānī-ekādaśī and Śivarātri are the only two fasts referred to in the Paramāra inscriptions. Eclipse—lunar and solar—was the occasion for making gifts and so were many other occasions of the year. Of festivals there were many. We have reference to the Yātrā-mahotsava of Madana in the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*.[2] It fell on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra and was celebrated with dancing, songs and merry making.[3] In continuation of this festival observed in Malwa, was the Vasantotsava,[4] which fell on the full moon day of the month of Chaitra.[5] Alberūnī describes it as the festival for women, when, they put on their ornaments and demanded presents from their husbands.[6] The drama *Pārijātamañjarī* was staged during Vasantotsava, known also as the Chaitraparva.[7] The king was expected to participate in the festival.[8] Connected with Madanotsava was another festival known as Damanakachaturdaśī or Damanakaparva, which fell on the 14th Śukla of Chaitra and is referred to in the Shergarh inscription of Udayāditya.[9] During this festival a branch of Damana tree was offered to Śiva or Viṣṇu with a prayer to him and to Madana for the happiness and felicity of the whole household.[10] The Bhopal plates of *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman refer to Mahāvaiśākhīparva which fell in Vaiśākha on Sudi fifteenth.[11] Another festival referred to in the inscriptions is (Gaṅgā) Daśharaḥ[12] which, according to Bhoja, fell on the 10th day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha.[13] On this occasion the Ganges is said to have descended to the earth. Those who took their bath in the river and gave away gifts became free from sins.[14] On Jyaiṣṭha Pūrṇimā was observed the Sāvitri-vrata, the performance of which, according to Bhoja,

[1] *TM*, p. 130.
[2] *Cf.* The first tale of Ravidatta.
[3] *SEHNI*, p. 275.
[4] *TM*, p. 16.
[5] Sachau, II, pp. 178-79.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *EI*, VIII, p. 101.
[8] *Ibid.*; *TM*, p. 16.
[9] *EI*, XXIII, p. 135.
[10] *Smṛti-kaustabha*, pp. 19-23.
[11] *IA*, XVI, p. 255.
[12] *ABORI*, IV, p. 100.
[13] *ABORI*, XXXVI, pp. 335-36.
[14] *SEHNI*, p. 281.

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saved women from widowhood.[1] In the month of Bhādra, on the 8th day was celebrated Kṛṣṇajayanti, that is the birth day of Lord Kṛṣṇa.[2] King Bhoja, unlike Jimutavāhana, declares that no fasts should be observed during the *Rohiṇīnakṣatra*. On the fourth day of the bright half of Bhādra occurred Hāritālika festival, which was sacred to Pārvatī.[3] The 8th day of the light half of Bhādrapada, was the day of Indradhvajochchhārya or raising of the flag staff of Indra,[4] when the moon was in *Śrāvaṇanakṣatra*, and the *visarjana* was to take place at the end of *Bharaṇīnakṣatra*. It was the duty of the king to raise the flag staff with due ceremonies. Bhoja has given a pen-picture of this festival in his *Rājamārtaṇḍa*.[5] In the month of Āśvin took place Navarātra in which Durgā was worshipped from the 7th to the 10th day of the bright half of Śukla.[6] Another festival was Nirājana which was of political significance. According to Bhoja's *Rājamārtaṇḍa* it was to be celebrated on the eighth day of Aśvin Śukla.[7] The *Yuktikalpataru* does not prescribe a day for the festival but gives a graphic description of the ceremony, and states that a big ornamental arch of some holy tree was to be erected in the north-east of the capital. Threads smeared with saffron paste were to be tied round the necks of horses.[8] The *Tilakamañjarī* refers to Kaumudīmahotsava[9] which fell on the full moon day of Kārttika. On this occasion houses and shops used to be decorated with flowers and flags and men and women also bedecked themselves with garlands and festive clothes. At night the streets and houses were illuminated with lights. Young men and women were expected to move about in all directions, singing, dancing, laughing and enjoying themselves. The festival was to be concluded with a grand feast for which a number of animals were to be killed so that the Brāhmaṇas might be fed to their heart's

[1] *ABORI*, XXXVI, p. 335. For more details see Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*.
[2] *ABORI*, XXXVI, p. 323.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 323-27.
[4] *Kālaviveka* of Jimutavāhana (*BI*), p. 294.
[5] *ABORI*, XXXVI, pp. 323-27.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 328, v. 188.
[8] *Yukti*, pp. 178-79 ; *vide ante* Chap. XIII.
[9] *TM*, p. 220.

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content.[1] It is stated by Lakṣmīdhara that if a person fails to celebrate the festival according to the rites described above, the king must award him physical punishment.[2] Bhoja refers to a festival called Sukharātri.[3] On this occasion Lakṣmī was worshipped at dusk and lamps were lit up on the trees, in temples, roads, cremation grounds, river banks, tops of hills and also in the houses. It seems to be the equivalent of modern Dīwālī or Dīpāvalī.[4] The Prabandhachintāmaṇi mentions Dīwālī as being celebrated in Malwa.[5] On the second day of the bright half of the Kārttika, the ceremony known as Bhrātridvitīya was celebrated.[6] On this occasion, the sisters fed their brothers, who in their turn gave ornaments and clothes to their sisters. Its modern prototype is Bhāidūja which is celebrated all over northern India now. The inscriptions of the Paramāras also refer to Udgayana-parva,[7] Pavitraka-parva,[8] the ceremony of Saindhavadeva and the *yātrā* festival of god Jagatsvāmin.[10] The *yātrā* festivals were common among the Jainas too.

Besides these there were many other occasions of social festivity for the people living in the Paramāra territories. The birth of a child (*janmotsava*),[11] the naming of a child (*nāmakaraṇa*), the day the child went to the *guru* (*vidyārambha* or *upanayana*), the wedding (*vivāhotsava*), the anointment of a crown prince, the coronation of a new king, victory of the ruling king in the battlefield,[12] conquest of a country,[13] the installation of a new image in the temple or of a new *guru*,

[1] *SEHNI*, p. 376.
[2] *Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, p. 183.
[3] *ABORI*, XXXVI, p. 329.
[4] See *The Vāchaspatyam-koṣa*.
[5] *Pc*, p. 46.
[6] *ABORI*, XXXVI, p. 329.
[7] *EI*, XXIII, p. 112 ; *IA*, VI, p. 53 ; *EI*, XX, p. 107, fn. 3.
[8] *IA*, VI, p. 52 ; *JPASB*, X, 1914 (New Series), p. 242.
[9] *EI*, XX, p. 107.
[10] *BG*, I, pt. I, pp. 472-73.
[11] We have a good account of *janmotsava* ceremonies in the *TM*, pp. 63-64.
[12] King Bhoja I issued his Betmā plates on the occasion of *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva* in 1020 A.D. *EI*, XVIII, pp. 320-25.
[13] Bhoja I issued his Bānswārā grant on the occasion of *Koṅkaṇa-vijaya-grahaṇa-parva*. *EI*, XI, pp. 181-83.

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victory even in literary discussions provided occasions for celebrations. Thus the people of our period seem to be living a real gay life which was full of socio-religious festivals. The general nature of celebrations of these occasions was same everywhere. They were accompanied with plenty of dancing, singing, eating and sometimes even drinking and prayers and worship of gods.

The courtesans provided enough pleasure to the rich citizens and the festivals provided enough entertainment to everyone concerned. But that was not all. We hear of many other institutions which afforded pleasure and entertainment to the public. Among them can be enumerated the gambling house (*tiṇṭā*), theatre (*raṅgaśālā*), pleasure-house (*krīḍāgāra* or *krīḍā-bhavana*) and temples (*devagṛha* or *devālaya*). Those who loved out-door life went out for swimming, hunting, playing balls, swinging, dancing and last but not the least to the parks.

The general standard of education among the people seems to have been fairly high. The class which had the highest facilities for education and consequently the highest percentage of literacy were the Brāhmaṇas and the Jaina *sādhus*. The Vaiśyas too must have been literate for they had to keep accounts, and for the Kāyasthas, who had by our time grown into a caste, literacy was essential and many of them figure as writers of inscriptions during our period.[1] The members of the royal family and the rich people would have considered literacy as an obligation and as a privilege. Considering all these facts it seems that the general standard of literacy would have been fairly high in the Paramāra dominions.

Education of a child started at the early age of six[2] and by the time the student was sixteen, he was expected to be master of all the sciences and arts.[3] Thus the span of one's educational career was spread over ten years. The initiation of a boy into reading and writing took place on an auspicious day[4] amidst celebrities.[5] The young pupil saluted first the deities like Hari, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Vidyā and the Sūtrakāras

[1] See above our account on caste system.
[2] *TM*, pp. 64-65.
[3] *Ibid.*; *SMK*, p. 19.
[4] *ABORI*, XXXVI, p. 322.
[5] *TM*, p. 64.

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of the particular *vidyā* and the *vidyā* of his choice.[1] Medieval digests prescribed disciplined life for the students who received Brahmanical education.[2]

As to the courses of study, the study of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas and Śāstras would have been obligatory for the priestly class as is evident from the various prefixes used by the Brāhmaṇas of the period.[3] In the *Tilakamañjarī* we hear of the students reciting the praise of the *devatās* as written in the Vedas.[4] The study of grammar and grammatical rules too would have formed an important subject of a student's curriculum. We are told by the *Prabhāvakacharita* that when Siddharāja Jayasiṁha triumphantly entered the city of Ujjayinī he found all the students studying Bhoja's grammar.[5] That the study of grammar was considered important is further proved by the fact that one of the inscriptions of the time of king Udayāditya and Naravarman discovered from the Bhojaśālā of Dhārā contains an alphabetic chart and rules of Sanskrit grammar.[6] That astrology and astronomy too had their place in the educational system of our period is corroborated by compositions like Bhoja's *Rājamārtaṇḍa*, and *Bhujabalanibandha*.[7] Different systems of Indian philosophy too would have been part of Brahmanical studies. Metrics, poetics, logic and the study of classical works and languages was also desired for.

The princes of the period received specialised education which made them scholar-statesmen.[8] They were imparted instruction in *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, crafts, archery, physical exercises and in the science of administration and diplomacy. The Vaiśyas' education included besides other things accountancy and book-keeping.[9] Proficiency in history and Āyurveda was admired.[10] Painting, music and dancing were the fine arts which were taught to the girls.[11]

[1] *Smṛtichandrikā*, pp. 66-67.
[2] Mookerji, R.K., *Ancient Indian Education*, pp. 183-87.
[3] See above on caste system.
[4] *TM*, p. 65.
[5] *Prabhāvakacharita*, pp. 156, 157, 185.
[6] *EI*, XXXI, pp. 25-30.
[7] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
[8] See our account of monarchy in Chap. XIII.
[9] See above our account of the Vaiśyas in caste system.
[10] *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 35. [11] *TM*, p. 215.

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There must have been a number of educational institutions to impart instruction to the students in the Paramāra territories. Of these the most famous was the Bhojaśālā of Dhārā, the presiding deity of which was the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī.[1] The various *maṭhas* of the Jainas and the Śaivāchāryas too would have been great seats of learning. At Dhārā was situated the Pārśvanātha Jinavihāra.[2] Ujjain had a Śaiva monastery of established repute.[3] Abu in our period was a great centre of Sanskrit learning to which scholars from different parts of India came to study.[4] Abu being a *Śāktapīṭha*, was also a centre of Tāntrik studies. The Kumāra-*vihara* near Jālor was also erected during our period in 1165 A.D. and was a famous centre of Jaina studies.[5] The Mattamayūrāchāryas, of which there would have been many in Malwa,[6] studied various heterodox and orthodox religious books in their *maṭhas*.

Every temple had a priest, and every priest could be a teacher, who taught the children of the neighbouring localities. The children of the common classes who could not afford expensive education would have been imparted instruction in the arts of reading and writing in these temples. The various literary *goṣṭhis* of which we hear in the *Tilakamañjarī* and other works would have furthered the cause of education. The religious discourses would have enlightened the laity of the country on the matters spiritual. The literary debates and discourses, for which the courts of the Paramāra kings were well known, were attended by many people, who would have drawn lessons from these learned assemblies. The students received individual attention of the teacher even though the classes sometimes were big enough. For specialised study one had to move from one place to another in search of a specialist.[7]

Knowledge was tested by oral tests.[8] The learned *paṇḍitas* of the royal courts often tested the knowledge of the poets

1 *Vide* Chaps. VI and XVI.
2 *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
3 *IA*, XI, pp. 221-22.
4 *DV*, XVI, v. 75.
5 *Vide ante* Chap. XI.
6 *Vide ante* Chap. XIV.
7 See *Kharataragachchha-bṛhad-gurvāvali*.
8 *TM*, p. 55.

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and scholars in the assemblies convened by the kings. In these assemblies all sorts of questions could be asked by the opponents as well as the experts. This must have proved a much stiffer test than our modern system of examinations. The scholars had to be ever ready to meet a challenge either by their opponents within the kingdom or by the *paṇḍitas* of the rival courts.

The teachers of our period, who were Brāhmaṇas, often received rewards from kings and feudatory chiefs. The *Rājagurus* or the preceptors of the kings were the recipients of large sums of money. The *Mānasollāsa* says that at the completion of the education of a prince the teacher should be amply rewarded with clothes, gold, land and even villages.[1] But the teachers on the whole were not rich enough, though they may have felt compensated by the universal respect that they commanded in the society. Many scholars may have refrained from accepting royal gifts. The Jain-ācārya Jinavallabhadeva refused to accept 3,00,000 *Pārutha-drammas* or instead three villages granted by king Naravarman Paramāra. He requested instead that two *pārutha drammas* from the custom-house of Chitor should be granted daily for defraying the expenses of two temples of the Kharatara Jainas.[2]

The social history of the period is documented no better than the political history, for even the Paramāra epigraphs give us only a scanty and indirect information. The caste system did not undergo any marked transformation during our period. It was determined by birth, though it did not prevent people from following a profession other than the one hereditary in their caste. Of the *āśramas*, the *gṛhasthāśrama*, seems to have occupied a prominent position. As far as the position of women was concerned, early marriages of girls became customary in this period. The people seem to have lived a carefree gay life, celebrating various festivals and entertaining themselves with various means of amusements. Men and women made use of gold ornaments, perfumes and rich and colourful clothes. The percentage of literacy perhaps was fairly high, and the Paramāra rulers by giving patronage to Brāhmaṇas and temples helped in the cause of education to a great extent.

[1] *Mānaso*, II, *Vim*, III, 1304.
[2] *Vide ante* Chaps. VII and XIV.

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Section II

ECONOMIC CONDITION

The Paramāras ruled over extensive territories, comprising the whole of Malwa, Vāgaḍa, parts of Marwar and Mewar, northern Gujarat and a part of Berar, with varied climate and fertility of soil.[1] A large part of the Paramāra dominions consisted of rich fertile land watered by numerous rivers and riverines.[2] Unfortunately we possess rather meagre data to have an adequate idea of the economic life of the people of the Paramāra territories during the period under review. We shall, therefore, merely present here the facts as revealed by epigraphic sources and supplemented to some extent by the contemporary literature.

Malwa had not only a large number of villages but also some big towns, known throughout the country as centres of commerce and culture. Some of them were centres of administration, some came into prominence because of being good points of defence or meeting points of various trade routes, and some flourished on account of their religious importance. Of these towns again, the most famous were Ujjain, Dhārā, Mandu, Udaipur, Bhilsa, Shergarh, Bhojapura, Mahiṣmati, Chitore, Chandrāvatī, Arthuna, Jālor and Kirāḍū.

According to the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, the capital must have access to water and possess forts, temples and houses of merchants.[3] It was to have an outer wall (*prākāra*),[4] which had four gateways[5] with broad and heavy doors. A moat was to encircle the entire city wall. Within the city were to be the main roads and streets (*rathyā*), lined with shops (*vipaṇī*), palatial mansions and residential quarters. The city was also to have innumerable parks, lakes, wells, tanks and public baths. Within the city used to live all classes of people, the men of three higher castes, physicians, artisans, tailors, musicians, dancers, courtesans, fishermen, washermen and other labourers.[6]

1 *Vide ante* Chap. I.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *SS*, I, Chap. XVIII, vv. 1-6.

4 *Ibid.*; see also the description of Dhārā in the *SMK* and the description of Ayodhyā in the *TM* and that of Ujjain in the *Kuvalayamālā*.

5 *SS*, I, Chap. XVIII, v. 38.

6 *Ibid.*, Chap. X, vv. 89-102.

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The city was also to be the centre of all activity and wealth.

That the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* took this picture from life can be seen from the description of actual towns in the contemporary literature. The *Kuvalayamālā* describes Ujjayinī as having an outer wall which contained gates, the largest of which was called the Gopuradvāra. This wall was encircled by a moat which was full of fresh water and lotus flowers.[1] It had a *rājapatha* which passed through the main bazar and went up to the Gopuradvāra.[2] There were rows of houses and shops on both sides of the *rājapatha*.[3]

Dhārānagarī, as described by Bhoja himself, also was encircled by a city wall which was white-washed and had four gateways with broad and heavy doors, described as crowded with people, eager to enter the city.[5] The wall was surrounded by a moat, full of water and flowers. The city had a number of lakes, with their waters tinged with the pollen of the open *kamala*, *kumuda*, *kalhāra* and *indīvara*. It also had many enchanting abodes like the pleasure tanks and the *vīravilāsoddyāna* and others. It had a mechanical fountain house (*yantra-dhārā-gṛha*), which fascinated the minds of the citizens. The city had a number of parks and gardens. One could hear the notes of music at night in all the corners.[6] The men of the town (*nāgarakas*), who led an easy-going and sophisticated life, basking in luxury, are referred to as respectable classes by the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*.[7] The town folk are described as skilful in all transactions; compassionate like the storm (which holds dust in it); which is free from all miseries like the ocean (which dispels the heat of the sun); . . . which has attained union with pure ones like the summer (which has heat); which has not seen heavy taxation like the monsoon (when the hot rays of the sun are not seen); which has a longing for clean clothes like the autumn (when the sky is free from the clouds); which is always free from anxiety like the winter (when there is no

[1] *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 124.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *SMK*, pp. 2-7.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

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heat of the sun) ; which though Mākanda (the root of prosperity), is Aśoka tree (free from sorrow); . . . which though *parameśvara* (very rich) is without anger (without anxiety); . . . and which though full of pearls (free from diseases) is adorned with all ornaments.[1]

A large proportion of the population however lived in villages, which were practically self-contained units. The daily necessities of life could be procured within the village. The tank, pasture land, jungle, from where came the fuel, and the temple, were the common property of the whole village.[2]

The daily life of the people in the towns as well as villages would not have been free from insecurity due to thieves and highway robbers, of whom we hear in the contemporary literature, as well as the constant wars between the Paramāra kings and the neighbouring Indian rulers, and the Muhammadan invasions. Sacking of cities and devastation of countryside was common. Paramāra king Sīyaka II looted Mānyakheṭa.[3] Bhoja's general Kulachandra sacked Aṇahilapattaṇa.[4] Someśvara I avenged the Paramāra invasion of his territory by burning Dhārā and plundering Ujjain and Mandu.[5]

The bulk of population in India has always been cultivators, and undoubtedly during our period too, the majority of the people seem to be working in the fields. Agricultural prosperity is evident from the descriptions of the emerald like green rice-fields protected by *kalamagopikās*, the barley fields and forests of sugar-cane.

Land was irrigated by natural resources as well as artificial water-works. From ancient times it was considered the duty of the king to excavate tanks, wells, canals and provide facilities for the supply of water to cultivate land. The excavation of or a grant of a tank or well, was considered meritorious. Accordingly we find the Paramāra rulers, ministers and the private persons undertaking this type of work. In Malwa, Vākpati II is said to have excavated a tank called Muñjasāgara.[6] Bhoja got excavated a tank near Chitor, called

[1] *SMK*, pp. 2-7.

[2] *CII*, IV, Intro., p. clxxi ; for village administration see our Chap. XIII.

[3] *Vide ante* Chap. IV.

[4] *Vide* Chap. VI.

[5] *Vide* Chaps. VI and VII.

[6] *Vide* Chap. V.

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Bhojasara[1] and a huge lake near modern Bhopal.[2] King Udayāditya's name is associated with Udayasāgara in Udaipur.[3] The Amera inscription records the construction of a water tank in the reign of king Naravarman.[4] *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra made a land grant along with *bāolees*, wells and tanks.[5] Among the Paramāras of Abu, queen Lāhinī, the sister of Pūrṇapāla, got excavated a tank in 1042 A.D.[6]

The example of the rulers was followed by the ruled. In 1086 A.D. Janna, a Telī Patel got excavated a tank at Chirihitta during the reign of King Udayāditya.[7] The Brāhmaṇas of Bhaḍund got constructed a step-well and made it over to the people of the village.[8] We hear also of the grant of *dhīmaḍās* (Mārwārī wells) and *arahaṭṭas* (Persian wheel) in various epigraphs.[9]

Traditionally agriculture was one of the economic pursuits reserved for the Vaiśya community of Indian society. During our period it seems, however, that the majority of the cultivators came from various other castes who were supposed to have belonged to the Śūdra community.[10] The scholarly Brāhmaṇas who were the recipients of the innumerable royal land grants, would have left the actual work of tilling the land in the hands of others, *i.e.* those belonging to the lower castes.[11] As to the means of cultivation we do not hear much from the Paramāra sources. They must have been the well-known Indian plough and the oxen.

As to the agricultural products during this period, the principal crops were rice, *kodrava* (Kodo millet, a species of grain eaten by the poor), *tila* (sesame), *mudga* (kidney bean; Hindi Mūng), *vrihi* (paddy), and *kaṇikā* (cummin seed).[12] Wheat and

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. VI.
[2] *Vide infra* Chap. XVI.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *ASI*, 1923-24, p. 135.
[5] *JASB*, VII (1838), p. 735.
[6] *Vide ante* Chap. XI.
[7] *JPASB*, 1914 (New Series) pp. 241-42.
[8] *JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 78.
[9] *IA*, XLV, pp. 77-78.
[10] See above our account of caste system.
[11] The granting of land consisted not of the actual grant of ownership of land, but only of the king's share of the product of that land (*CII*, IV, Intro., p. clxxi). The tillers of the land remained undisturbed more or less. For the details of the problem of the ownership of land during our period, see Gopal, L., *Economic Life of Northern India*, Chap. I.
[12] *EI*, XXXIII, p. 197.

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barley were also important products of Malwa.[1] Opium and Indigo had their share too in the land.[2] Among commercial crops sugar-cane and cotton were the most important. We hear of fields full of sugar-cane in the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*.[3] It was an important agricultural product, for as we shall see later, sugar or *gur* industry was quite popular in Malwa during our period. Contemporary literature and inscriptions refer also to betel-leaves (which were chewed by men and women), cocoanut, palm, mango and *madhuka*.

Large pasture lands were attached to every village. Kings sometimes donated pasture land or the right of grazing cattle free.[4] Of pastoral products, ghee, milk and milk products were produced in the Paramāra dominions. Pasturage was, it seems, as important an occupation as agriculture, for we very often hear of the tinkling of the bells of the cows coming to the village in the evenings after grazing in the pasture lands, in the literature of the period.

Fortunately we get a few details of various industries in Bhoja's *Yuktikalpataru*, showing thereby that a number of industries flourished in the Paramāra dominions during our period.

From the references to weaver, thread and cotton and the description of various dresses of the people made of different materials, in the contemporary literature,[5] it can be inferred that the textile industry was in a flourishing state during our period, though we have no direct evidence for it.

Our inscriptions refer to goldsmiths, blacksmiths, architects and carpenters, all of whom may have dealt with metal in some way or the other. The fine instruments used for carving and chiseling the stone of various beautiful buildings of the period may have been manufactured in some place in the Paramāra kingdom. It shows the high level of skill attained by the people of the Paramāra kingdoms in the science of metallurgy. Another proof of the excellence attained by the iron industry during our period is the famous iron pillar of Dhārā which is ascribed to king Bhoja.

1 *EI*, XIV, p. 302 ; *vide ante* Chap. I.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *SMK*, pp. 67-68.
4 *IA*, VI, p. 53 ; *EI*, XXXII, pp. 148-56.
5 See above on dress.

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The *Yuktikalpataru* refers to different varieties of iron. Bhoja relates that Krouncha iron is twice better than Sāmānya iron, Kaliṅga iron is eight times better than Krouncha iron, Bhadra iron is hundred times better than Kaliṅga iron, Vajra iron is one thousand times better than Bhadra, Paṇḍī iron is hundred times better than Vajra, Niraṅga iron is ten times better than Paṇḍī and Kaṇṭha iron million times better than Niraṅga iron. 'Those gradations of iron,' says B.P. Majumdar, 'distinctly refer to the pig, cast and wrought iron'.[1]

Iron was used for manufacturing agricultural implements and weapons of war. Brass and copper would have been used for house-hold utensils, and precious metals were used for making ornaments and perhaps coins.

Boat making may have been quite popular in the Paramāra dominions which had a network of rivers.[2] Rivers in those days would have served as an important means of communication. The *Yuktikalpataru* gives a vivid account of various types of boats[3] and the timber used for the making of those vessels. That boats may have been manufactured in Malwa is also evidenced by the fact that one of the important sources of the royal revenue was ferry tolls.[4]

Different types of umbrellas have been recommended for kings, princes and ordinary people by the *Yaktikalpataru*, which gives a detailed account of the making of the umbrellas. The Viśeṣa type was to be used by the kings and the Sāmānya type by ordinary people. The stick of the royal umbrella was to be made of either pure wood or sandal wood, the thread and the cloth were either to be scarlet or pure white with a golden pitcher at the top. On the occasion of marriage Navadaṇḍa type was to be used, whose stick was made of gold. The Pratāpa type was meant for the princes. The length of the stick of Pratāpa umbrella was 1/4 less than that of the king, it was to be blue in colour and it had a golden pitcher at the top. The stick of the common man's umbrella was to be half of the length of that of a crown prince and was made of ordinary timber.

[1] *IC*, XIV, pp. 33-34.
[2] *Vide ante* Chap. I and Map No. 1.
[3] *Vide ante* Chap. XIII.
[4] *Ibid.*

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Sugar-cane was one of the principal products of Malwa. That sugar industry was in vogue can be inferred from the fact that the inscriptions speak of *gur* and sugar being taxed by the king.[1]

House building industry must have flourished in the Paramāra dominions, as all the contemporary records agree that Dhārā, Ujjain, Mandu, Bhojapura, Udaipur, Chandrāvatī and many other cities and towns were full of residential houses, beautiful temples, palaces and places of public utility, the erection of which would have required skilled artisans as well as unskilled labourers. The architectural activity of the period would have encouraged also the industry of manufacturing tools.

From the *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* and *Tilakamañjarī* we get the gleanings of the furniture used, such as chairs, and bedsteads. The *Yuktikalpataru* mentions seats (*pīṭhas*) made of metal, stone and wood.[2] Bhoja gives a detailed account about the *pīṭhas* and bedsteads and types of wood used for them.

The high level of skill attained by the jeweller of the period is testified by the description of ornaments in the *Tilakamañjarī* and *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*.[3] The ornaments were made of precious metals like gold and silver and were studded with various types of precious stones.[4]

As we have seen already the men and women of Malwa made ample use of perfumes.[5] This fact leads us to think that the people of this country were acquainted with the manufacturing process of the perfumeries.

The *Yuktikalpataru* refers to three varieties of mirrors *viz*, *bhāvya*, *vijaya*, and *pauruṣa* which were made of metal rather than glass.[6]

Mining,[7] extracting of oil, pottery, shoe-making, making of *yantras*, weapons, watches, musical instruments, and ivory works, all of which required specialised knowledge, may have been in a flourishing state.

1 *EI*, XIV, p. 303. 2 *Yukti*, pp. 57-59, *Pīṭhoddeśaḥ*, vv. 406-35.
3 See above our account of dress, ornaments and cosmetics in Sect. I.
4 *Ibid.* 5 *Ibid.*
6 *SEHNI*, p. 204.
7 Mining may have been an important industry for we do hear of the Paramāra kings granting land with the right of mining gold. *EI*, XX, pp. 106-07.

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The artisans, it seems, carried on their work at their own cottages. We do not have evidence to show the prevalence of large scale industries. The artisans had their own guilds which looked after the interests of its members as well as the quality of production. These guilds played an important part in the civic life of the period.[1]

On the basis of the epigraphic sources, we can say that Malwa and Vāgaḍa in our period had good trade in candied sugar, jaggery, Bengal madder, thread, cotton, cocoanut, butter, sesame oil, salt, arecanuts, clothing fabrics, *jāla* (bunch of buds), *lagaḍā* (bars of gold), silver and other metals, cattle-fodder, sugar, grain and barley.[2] We have references to *baniās* and *śreṣṭhins*, who were the merchants of the community, and their shops. The traders had their shops (*vaṇika-haṭṭa*)[3] in big cities. There may have been arrangements for temporary markets on fixed days of the week and on festive occasions, when the traders from the neighbouring villages brought their commodities and sold them. They carried on their mercantile activity after defraying the state dues such as octroi duty, excise tax, road cess, ferry tolls and sales tax.[4]

The merchants who participated in inland trade generally travelled in groups. In the folk tales of our period we often read of a merchant and a caravan leader, approaching the king and seeking his permission to do business.[5] The *Tilakamañjarī* mentions the caravans of the merchants as camping near the outskirts of a city.[6] The caravans were regarded as a safe protection against the robbers infesting the highways. From the *Bhaviṣyattakahā* we learn that the big merchants before proceeding on their caravan journey used to proclaim their intention to the other merchants in the city and invite them to join them by offering a number of facilities.[7] The leader of the caravan told the fellow merchants, after they had assembled, the advantages of the route he proposed to take and gave them many pieces of advice for their guidance.[8]

As to the means of transport and conveyance, carts drawn by bullocks, mules, buffaloes and other animals seem to have

[1] *Vide ante* Chap. XIII.
[2] *EI*, XIV, pp. 295-310.
[3] *EI*, XIX, p. 72.
[4] *Vide ante* Chap. XIII.
[5] *Bṛhatkathākośa*, pp. 200ff.
[6] *TM*, p. 117.
[7] *Bhaviṣyattakahā*, p. 16.
[8] *Samarāichchakahā*, p. 476.

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been popularly used.[1] Camels and elephants were also put in service, and the former were specially preferred in the desert areas.

We have literary references to various types of streets and roads. The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* speaks of many kinds of roads while discussing the general lay-out of the town. The villages may not have had well planned streets like the cities but they too, like the cities, were connected with the highways.[2] The roads do not seem to be well maintained for we often read of the rough and rugged character of the roads which may have deterred many people from undertaking journeys.[3] However certain facilities were provided to the travellers on the roadside. The *Tilakamañjarī* describes a water reservoir for the use of the travellers on the outskirts of a city. Its banks were surrounded by a circular white-washed cloister which was made of compact piles of bricks and had rows of stairs going down into the water.[4] There were small shops of general merchandise who used to supply the travellers and caravan men with provisions for their journey. Maintenance of charitable houses was considered a meritorious act. Here the travellers coming from different parts were provided with food, hot water and oil to wash their feet in order to remove their fatigue, and a room to pass the night.[5] In the *Tilakamañjarī* we read of a king giving instructions to his officers in charge to resume the work of providing food, drink, beds and medicine to the poor, orphans, travellers and caravan men in the charitable houses which had been reported as closed.[6]

Rivers perhaps were better and safer means of travelling as well as for transporting merchandise than roads. As ferry dues seem to have been an important source of the state income and the officers in charge of the ferries are often mentioned in the Paramāra records,[7] it seems that the river-traffic was considerable. The state seems to have kept a strict control over the ferries. We are told by the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that when Bhoja fell ill the officers, who did not wish the

[1] Medhatithi on Manu, VIII, v. 290.
[2] Gopal, L., *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 97.
[3] *Upamitibhavaprapañchākahā*, p. 863.
[4] *TM*, p. 117.
[5] *Pc*, p. 106.
[6] *TM*, p. 66.
[7] *Vide ante* Chap. XIII.

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news to spread, controlled the roads leading to the fords and completely stopped the coming in of the people from other states.[1]

From the description of the *Śṛṅgāramañjarikathā* and *Tilakamañjarī*, it seems that some of the rich merchants may have also gone on foreign trade in ships to the neighbouring countries of Siṁhaladvīpa (Ceylon) and Suvarṇadvīpa or Suvarṇabhūmi (East Indies).[2] According to the *Periplus* 'the goods of Ozene (Ujjain) were sent to Broach for export'.[3] Ujjain here must have meant the country of Malwa in general. The occupation of Lāṭa brought the famous sea-port of Broach under the control of the Paramāra rulers.[4] The port of Broach was particularly of great significance to the people of Malwa, as it was situated where river Narmada after passing through Malwa joins the sea, so that the goods landed at Broach could be conveniently transported to Malwa by river, which could also be used for bringing down goods from Malwa. Broach was an economic asset to Lāṭa and this may explain the long drawn struggle (starting from the time of king Sīyaka II and practically lasting until the collapse of the Paramāra power), for the supremacy of Lāṭa and any other power who became the master of Lāṭa *i.e.* the Chālukyas, the Chaulukyas and the Yādavas.

The merchants and traders worked through their organised guilds. An inscription from Shergarh dated 1017, 1018 and 1028 A.D., refers to a *tailakarāja*, which has been translated by A.S. Altakar, as the chief of the guild of the oilmen.[5] In the Jhālarāpāṭan inscription of 1086 A.D. we have reference to a *tailaka-paṭṭakila* or the head of a guild of the oilmen.[6] The chiefs of the guilds enjoyed considerable powers during our period and their accentuated power is reflected in the contemporary literature.[7] When the guilds found themselves incapable of stopping the insolence of the chiefs, the king was required to intervene and punish the chief in proportion to his solvency.[8] The sailors also had their own associations. In

1 *Pc*, p. 51.
2 *SMK*, pp. 28-29 ; *TM*, p. 103.
3 P. 42.
4 *Vide ante* Chaps. IX and X.
5 *EI*, XXIII, p. 138.
6 *JASB*, 1914 (New Series), pp. 241-43.
7 *Smṛtichandrikā*, III, pp. 50ff.
8 *Ibid.*

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the *Tilakamañjarī* we read that Tāraka was made the chief of the sailors by Chandraketu who regarded him as his own son-in-law.[1] The sailors of our period had relations with the sailors of Suvarṇabhūmi. Tāraka, who married an Indian girl, the daughter of a master mariner named Jalaketu, settled in India and became, in due course, the head of the mariners.[2]

We hear also of teachers, astrologers, scribes, priests, soldiers, engravers, architects, *rūpakāras* or sculptors, garland-makers, *śaṅkhikas*,[3] physicians, keepers of gambling houses, barbers, hunters, butchers, jewel testers, potters and sailors. This shows the various economic pursuits followed by the people as well as gives us a picture of the economic activity of the Paramāra kingdoms.

The Paramāra inscriptions refer to different standards of weights and measures for different articles in the market. Thus we hear of:

Bharaka—for cocoanuts, candied sugar, jaggery, Bengal madder, thread, cotton and grain.
Ghaṭaka and *kumbha* (pot)—for butter and sesame oil.
Mūṭaka[4] or *mānaka*—for salt.
Pūlakas—for *jāla* (flowers).
Karṣa and *pāṇaka*—for oil and *ghee*.
Santas—for *lagaḍā*.
Vumvaka—for distiller's production.
Māṇī—for seeds of grain.
Pala or *palikā*—for oil and butter.
Mūṭaka, hāraka, vāpa[5] and *muṣṭhī*[6]—for barley.
Sei—for grain.[7]
Droṇākārī (*droṇa* and *khārī*) for grain.[8]

It is difficult to give the modern equivalents of all these terms. *Māṇaka* might have been the same as *maṇa*. The *maṇa* series according to D.R. Bhandarkar was:

4 *pāilās*	=	1 *pāilī*		4 *māṇās*	=	1 *sei*
5 *pāilīs*	=	1 *māṇā*		2 *seis*	=	1 *maṇa*[9]

[1] *TM*, p. 106. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Perhaps a worker in shells, *EI*, XXIII, p. 139.
[4] Perhaps a 'bullock's load', *EI*, XIV, p. 309, fn. 7.
[5] *EI*, XIV, pp. 302-03. [6] *EI*, XXXIII, p. 197.
[7] *IA*, XLV, p. 78. [8] *Ibid.*
[9] *EI*, XI, p. 41.

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In the *Gaṇitsāra* of Śrīdhara, written in Gujarat, we find the scheme slightly different:

4 *pavālas*	= 1 *pālī*	12 *māṇas*	= 1 *padaka*
4 *pālīs*	= 1 *māṇa*	4 *padakas*	= 1 *hārī*
4 *māṇas*	= 1 *sei*	4 *hārīs*	= 1 *māṇī*[1]

That the system of weights and measures as given in the *Gaṇitasāra* was prevalent in Malwa is evidenced by the statement of its commentator who adds that this system was prevalent in the countries of Kanauj, Malwa and Gujarat.[2]

The term *pūlaka* meant a bundle.[3] One *pala* was equal to four *karṣas* and a *karṣa* was, according to A.S. Altekar, equal to 3/4 of a *tolā*.[4] *Mūṭaka*, *hāraka*, *vāpa* and *muṣṭhī* seem to be handfuls. The term *droṇakārī* according to Pt. Bisheshwar Nath consisted of two Sanskrit words *i.e. droṇa* and *khārī*, the respective meaning of which are 32 and 96 seers.[5] The term *droṇa*, according to B.J. Sandesara, was equal to 1024 *tolās* and a *pāilī* or *pāilā* was equal to 4 lbs.[6]

Some weights carried different values with reference to different articles.[7]

Of the land measurements we hear of *halavāha*[8] and *nivartana*.[9] One *halavāha* of land was that much which could be tilled by one plough per day.[10] The exact equivalent of one *halvāha* is however difficult to establish for different types of ploughs had been used at different times in different areas and the capacity of oxen is also difficult to determine. The term *nivartana* is interpreted differently by different scholars. Pran Nath Vidyālaṁkāra says that 'it was almost equal to an acre'.[11] D.C. Sircar calculates it to be 240×240 sq. Cubits *i.e.* about 3 acres.[12] The *Gaṇitasāra* of Śrīdhara makes a *halavāha* as equal to 483840 *yavas i.e.* a length not more than 1/3 of a *krośa*.

Of the space measurements, we hear of *krośa*, *yojana* and *gavyūti* in the Paramāra sources. A *krośa* is calculated to be equal to 2 miles or a little more than that. A *yojana* is equal to about

1 *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 138-46.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
3 Sharma, D., *op. cit.*, p. 306.
4 *EI*, XXIII, p. 138.
5 *IA*, XLV, p. 77.
6 *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 145-46.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *EI*, XX, p. 106.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *JNSI*, VIII, p. 146.
11 *A Study in the Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, p. 83.
12 *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 300, fn.

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4 *krośas* that is 8 or 9 miles. A *gavyūti* is said to be equal to one *krośa* (2 miles) or two *krośas* (4 miles).[1]

The land was measured by a rod calculated in terms of a *parva*.[2] The passage in the Kadambapadraka plates wherein occurs the term *parva* has been translated by R.D. Banerji as 'king Naravarman granted 20 *nivartanas* of land measured by the rod of 96 *parvas* in length(?) and forty-two in breadth(?)'. Shri N.P. Chakravarty who revised the article has, however, interpreted the above passage as 'twenty *nivartanas* of land from the above mentioned village out of the forty-two (*nivartanas*) measured by the rod of 96 *parvas*'.[3] The latter interpretation seems more plausible, though the exact length of one *parva* is not clear to us.

Weights and measurements were made of iron and stones from Narmada,[4] for they being hard were not liable to be easily worn out.

As far as the Paramāra coinage is concerned, we have not found any actual specimens so far. Shri R. D. Banerji earlier attributed the gold coins bearing the image of a seated goddess on one side, and the legend of the king on the other, to the Paramāra king Udayāditya.[5] He read the legend as follows:

Śrīmad U-
dayāditya-de-
va

But it has now been proved that these coins were actually issued by the Chedi ruler Gāṅgeyadeva and not Udayāditya Paramāra.[6] This means that so far none of the actual specimens of the Paramāra coins have been noticed.[7]

The money denominations referred to in the Paramāra inscriptions are *dramma*, sometimes written as *drā* or *dra* only,

1 See Monier William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Pran Nath Vidyālaṅkāra, however, thinks that a *gavyūti* was equal to 2000 *dhanuḥs* or half a *krośa* (*Economic Conditions of Ancient India*, pp. 80-81). This would make a *gavyūti* equal to 1/4 of a mile only.

2 *EI*, XX, p. 106.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

4 *JNSI*, VIII, p. 145.

5 *JPASB*, XVI (1920), p. 84 ; *vide* Chap. VII.

6 *Ibid.* ; *CII* , IV, Intro., p. clxxxii.

7 K.P. Rode reports the discovery of a coin of prince Jagaddeva of the Paramāra family (*JNSI*, IX, p. 75). But the details of the coin are lacking.

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rūpaka, *ardharūpaka*,[1] *viṁśopaka*, *vṛṣabha* and *varāha*.[2] Merutuṅga refers to *dināra* in connection with Vikramāditya of Ujjain and to *taṅka* in association with king Bhoja Paramāra.[3] From the *Kharatargachchha-bṛhadgurvāvali* we hear of the *pārutha-drammas* being offered by Naravarman to Jaināchārya Jinavallabha.[4]

Dramma is a Sanskritised form of the Greek word drachma. These coins were called *drammas* for they adopted the weight standard of the drachma. Ordinarily the term was used for silver coins which weighed 65 grains of silver.[5] A *pārutha-dramma* was equal to eight ordinary *drammas*.[6] The higher value attached to the *pārutha-drammas* could be due to either their higher weight or superiority in metal. Perhaps in contrast to the highly debased or billon currency, the *pārutha-drammas* were of very pure silver or were silver coins plated with gold.[7] A *viṁśopaka*, according to D.R. Bhandarkar, was a copper coin and its value was one twentieth of a *dramma*.[8] According to the Somanātha temple inscription from Shergarh, the temple of Somanātha was granted 5 *vṛṣabhas* for providing incense and sandal for it, in 1018 A.D.[9] These *vṛṣabhas*, according to A.S. Altekar, were not ordinary bulls, but coins having the emblem of bull on the obverse.[10] Skandagupta of the Gupta family, the Ṣāhi rulers of Ohind and the Tomaras of Delhi issued silver coinage bearing the emblem of *vṛṣabha* on one side.[11] These coins usually weighed 60 grains or about a 1/3 of a *tolā* of silver. Five *vṛṣabhas* would correspond to Rupees two and their purchasing power has been fixed by A.S. Altekar at 'Rupees ten of the present day'.[12] The *rūpaka* basically and

[1] Known as *bhāgaka* in Gujarat according to the *Gaṇitasāra*. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 144.

[2] *EI*, XIV, pp. 302-03 ; *JASB*, VII, p. 738 ; *IA*, XLV, p. 78 ; *TRAS*, I, p. 226 ; *EI*, XX, pp. 106-07 ; *EI*, XXIII, pp. 137-38.

[3] *Pc*, pp. 8, 104, 121, 163, 167, 183-84.

[4] *Kharataragachchha-bṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 13.

[5] *JNSI*, II, pp. 1-14. According to B.J. Sandesara it was the largest standard coin, and was made of gold or silver. He thinks a *dramma* was equal to 5 *rūpakas*. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 144.

[6] *Purātana-prabandha-saṁgraha*, p. 53.

[7] Gopal, L., *op. cit.*, p. 199. [8] *Charmichael Lectures*, p. 208.

[9] *EI*, XXIII, p. 140. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[11] Cunnigham, A., *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 55ff.

[12] *EI*, XXIII, p. 138.

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generally stands for a silver coin[1] and its value was 1/5 of a *dramma*.[2] The Shergarh inscription refers also to the donation of two *varāhas*[3] which obviously were the type of silver coins issued by the Pratīhāra king Bhoja. They had the image of a boar on one side. These coins were about 60 grains in weight and 'two of them could be equal to a 12 annas silver piece if one such were issued today'.[4] 'The present day value of the Shergarh donation would be about three Rupees and a half'.[5]

The *dīnāra*, according to Ṭhakkura Pheru, was a gold coin equal to four *māśakas*.[6] *Ṭaṅka* originally seems to have been a simple weight being equal to 8 *rattīs* or 14.64 grains.[7] But as the derivation of the term suggests it was also used as a general name of a coin. *Ṭaṅka* was a gold as well as a silver coin. According to A.S. Altekar, the silver *ṭaṅka* was of one *tolā*.[8] Lower transactions were perhaps carried on regularly in *cowrīes*. The Shergarh inscription refers to the gift of a *kapardaka-voḍī* for providing incense at the Parṇaśālā.[9] A *kapardaka-voḍī* was equal to 1/4 of a copper *paṇa* and since the latter was equal to 80 *cowrīes*, one *kapardaka-voḍī* was equal to 20 *cowrīes*.[10] According to L. Gopal *voḍī* was not a coin in actual use but was a theoretical monetary value. The term *kapadraka* was prefixed to *voḍī* to make it clear that *vaḍī* was really calculated and paid in terms of *cowrīes*, which were the usual currency.[11] Copper *paṇas* were slightly heavier in weight than a modern *paisā* and a half would be. Taking all this evidence together we may reconstruct tentatively the coinage of the period as follows :

Voḍī—equal to 20 *cowrīes* or 1/4 of a *paṇa*.
Vṛṣabha—equal to about 1/3 *tolā* of silver.
Varāha—weighing about 60 grains.
Viṁśopaka—one twentieth of a *dramma*.
Rūpaka—one fifth of a *dramma* according to the *Gaṇitasāra*.
Ardharūpaka—equal to 1/2 of a *rūpaka*.
Dramma—equal to five *rūpakas* or twenty *viṁśopakas* and containing 65 grains of silver.

1 *JNSI*, XIX, p. 117 ; Gopal, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 205-06.
2 *JNSI*, VIII, p. 144.
3 *EI*, XXIII, p. 141.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Dravya-parīkṣā*, v. 61.
7 *JNSI*, XXII, p. 200.
8 *JNSI*, II, pp. 1-14.
9 *EI*, XXIII, p. 141.
10 *Ibid.*, pp. 138-39.
11 Gopal, L., *op. cit.*, p. 213.

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Pārutha-dramma—equal to eight ordinary *drammas*.
Ṭaṅka—a silver coin equal to about a *tolā*.
Dīnāra—a gold coin equal to four *māśās* according to Ṭhakkura Pheru.

A number of cointypes of Malwa (Mālavī-mudrā) are known from Ṭhakkura Pheru's[1] Apabhraṁśa-Prakrit work *Dravya-parīkṣā*, written in V.S. 1375=1318 A.D.,[2] though we cannot be sure in every case about the names of the rulers who issued them.

The *chaukaḍiyāmudrā* appears to have been a square billon coin. Hundred *chaukaḍiyās* contained 8 *tolās* of silver and the weight of each coin was 1 *ṭaṅka* and 10 *yavas*.[3] The *diupālapurīmudrā* appears to have been issued by king Devapāla of Malwa, in an attempt to reform the currency of his kingdom. One hundred *diupālapurīs* contained 15 *tolās* and 5 *māśās* of silver, though the gross weight of the coin was only 1 *ṭaṅka* and 10 *yavas*[4] each as in the case of the *chaukaḍiyā*. *Kuṇḍaliyā* might have been a round coin. Hundred *kuṇḍaliyās* had 6 *tolās* and $5\frac{3}{4}$ *māśās* of silver.[5] The gross weight was the same as that of a *chaukaḍiyā*. One hundred *kauliyāmudrā* had five *tolās* and $8\frac{3}{4}$ *māśās* of silver.[6] The gross weight was the same as that of a *chaukaḍiyā*. The *chhaḍḍuliyā* might have been a hexagonal coin. One hundred *chhaḍḍuliyās* contained 7 *tolās* and 4 *māśās* of silver.[7] The total weight of the coin was the same as that of one *chaukaḍiyā*. It is difficult to think of the shape of the *selakī-togaḍa* coin. One hundred of these contained 5 *tolās* and 3 *māśās* of silver. The total weight was the same as of other coins.[8] Chitor had a coin of its own, which is known as the *jānīyā chittaṇḍī*. One hundred of these coins had 5 *tolās* of silver.[9] But there seems to have been no admixture of any other metal in it.

Some other silver coins of lower denomination and with a good deal of admixture of baser metals have also been referred

[1] He was the mint-master of Allā-ud-dīn Khaljī.
[2] The *Dravya-parīkṣā* was found in a Jaina Bhandar at Calcutta. It has recently been published as no. 60 of the Rajasthan Purātana Granthamālā.
[3] *DP*, v. 94.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, v. 95.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, v. 96.
[8] *Ibid*
[9] *Ibid.*, v. 97.

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to by Ṭhakkara Pheru. One hundred of *jakāriyā* coins contained 4 *tolās* and 4½ *māśās* of silver ; one hundred of *galahuliyā* coins contained 3 *tolās and* 4 *māśās* of silver ; one hundred of *ravālagā* coins contained 1 *tolā* and 8 *māśās* of silver and one hundred of *śivagaṇā* coins contained 1 *tolā* and 3 *māśās* of silver.

Pheru mentions another series of Malwa coins which seem to have been merely artistically stamped pieces of bullion and were perhaps sold as silver in the market or hoarded as stores of value. They do not seem to have been in common use in the market. Of these we hear of *vāpaḍā*, *malita*, *sīhamāra* and *choramāra*. One hundred of *vāpaḍā* coins contained 14 *tolās* of silver ; one hundred of *malita* coins contained 14 *tolās* and 3 *māśās* of silver and each coin weighed one *ṭaṅka* ; one hundred of *sīhamāra* coins contained 13 *tolās* of silver and weighed at one *ṭaṅka* each and one hundred of *choramāra* coins contained 13 *tolās* of silver and weighed at 1 *ṭaṅka* each.[1]

A fairly good idea of Malwa coins, referred to in the *Dravya-parīkṣā*, can be had from the following table:

Name of the coin	Amount of silver contained in per hundred coins		Gross weight per coin	
	Tolās	*Māśās*	*Ṭaṅka*	*Yava*
Chaukaḍiyā	8	0	1	10
Diupālapurī	15	5	1	10
Kuṇḍaliyā	6	5¾	1	10
Kauliyā	5	8¾	1	10
Chhaḍḍuliyā	7	4	1	10
Selakī-togaḍa	5	3	1	10
Jānīyā-chittanḍī	5	0	0	0
Jakāriyā	4	4½	0	0
Galahuliyā	3	4	0	0
Ravālagā	1	8	0	0
Śivagaṇā	1	3	0	0
Vāpaḍā	14	0	0	0
Malita	14	3	1	0
Sīhamāra	13	0	1	0
Choramāra	13	0	1	0

[1] *DP*, vv. 98-100.

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We do not have any information about the gold coins of the period.

From the above facts it is clear that the Paramāras were ruling over a rich country. The richness of the land enabled the rulers to make various grants, spend millions on their literary end architectural activity as well as fight wars. Agriculture was the mainstay of both the people and the government in the economic sphere. Gifts of lands and villages recorded in the epigraphs of those days demonstrate their importance in the daily life of the people. Industry and commerce occupied the next place in the economic life of the land. Various classes of workers figure prominently in the contemporary records. Money being essential for the free flow of trade, we have references to various types of coins in the Paramāra epigraphs and literature and we hope that the future researches will one day bring to light the actual specimens of this period.

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CHAPTER XVI

LITERATURE, ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Section I

LITERATURE

UNDER THE Paramāras Malwa rose to a high level of greatness and fame. In fact no other part of northern India can claim such a rich galaxy of literary giants in so short a period as Malwa in the days of the Paramāras. Dhārā was the Mecca of the poets and *paṇḍitas* in the days of Bhoja the Great. And only a little less was the reputation enjoyed by Malwa in the days of Vākpati II. Their enlightened patronage of scholars made Ujjain the literary capital of India in the spirit of the traditions current about it as the capital of the great Vikramādityas. Under their successors also the kingdom continued to maintain this noble tradition. The Paramāra court was the model which the neighbouring princes tried to copy. Even during the period of their greatest political weakness, the Paramāras never besmirched their reputation by disregarding intellectual merit whether it was in a Jaina, a Vaiṣṇava, a Śākta or a Śaiva.

Not merely did the Paramāra rulers patronise scholars and poets, many of them were endowed with poetic talent themselves. The Udaipur *praśasti* extols Vākpati II (Muñja) as one who 'cultivated eloquence, lofty poetry, the mastery over the rules of the *śāstras*'.[1] Elsewhere he is described as *Kaviṛṣaḥ*.[2] Though no independent work of this poet-prince has come down to us, his poetic ability is proved by the various verses ascribed to him by the contemporary and later

[1] *EI*, I, p. 235, v. 13.
[2] *IA*, XVI, p. 23.

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authors in their writings.[1] Vākpati II is said to have written a geographical description of India known as *Muñja-pratideśa-vyavastha*.[2]

Muñja's nephew *Mahārājādhirāja-kavirāja-śiṣṭaśiromaṇi-Dhāreśvara Śrī* Bhojadeva was first and foremost a man of great learning—a versatile scholar, a polymath indeed, for he has been credited with works in almost every branch of knowledge. According to Ājaḍa, who wrote a commentary named *Padakaprakāśa* on Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*,[3] Bhoja wrote 84 works giving them names with his own titles or *biruḍas*.[4] The *Prabhāvakacharita* refers to Bhoja's works in several branches of learning.[5] Of the works ascribed to him,[6] the authorship of the following can be traced with some degree of certainty.

Rājamārtaṇḍa is a commentary on Pātañjali's *Yogasūtras*.[7] *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (grammar)[8] is one of the most important

[1] Dhanika quotes Muñja twice in his commentary on the *Daśarūpaka* (vv. 66-67). The Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra quotes three different stanzas, composed by Utpalarāja (*Subhāṣiṭāvalī*, vv. 3413-3414). In the *Rasikasañjīvanī*, Arjunavarman quotes a verse, the authorship of which is ascribed to Muñja (*Amaruśataka*, p. 23). Some other verses of the king are reproduced in the *Sāraṅgadharapaddhatī* (vv. 126-127) and the *Sūktimuktāvalī*. *Vide* App. VII.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, IX, p. 176.

[3] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, I, Intro., p. 48.

[4] इति (ह हि) शिष्टशिरोमणि—निखिलनिरवद्यविद्यानिर्मले (र्मा) ण पूर्व प्रजापतिप्रचंडभुजदंड-पराक्रमार्जितचतुरश्रीतिविरुदप्रकाशितस्वकृतग्रन्थसमाजः श्रीभोजराजः शास्त्रारंभे ।

Ibid., Text, p. 37.

[5] भोजव्याकरणं ह्येतच्छब्दशास्त्रं प्रवर्त्तते ।
असौ हि मालवाधीशो विद्वच्चक्रशिरोमणिः ।
शब्दालंकारदैवज्ञतर्कशास्त्राणि निर्ममे ॥
चिकित्सा-राजसिद्धान्त-रस-वास्तूदयानि च ।
अंक-शाकुनकाध्यात्म-स्वप्न-सामुद्रिकान्यपि ॥
ग्रन्थान् निमित्तव्याख्यान-प्रश्नचूडामणीनिह ।
विवृतिं चायसद्भावेऽर्घकाण्डं (अर्थशास्त्रं) मेघमालया ॥ *Prabhāvakacharita*, p. 185.

[6] For a list of his works see *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt., I, p. 418; *ibid.*, pt. II. p. 95.

[7] It has been published and translated into English.

[8] Edited by T.R. Chintamani and published in Madras University Sanskrit Series.

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works in the field of Sanskrit grammar and can safely be placed next to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇinī.[1] His *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (poetics)[2] is a voluminous work but is more or less a compilation.[3] It quotes profusely from Daṇḍin's *Kāvyadarśa* and many other works like *Dhvanyāloka*, *Agni Purāṇa* and *Avaloka* of Dhanika.[4] Rāmasiṁha and Ājaḍa wrote commentaries on it.[5] The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*[6] is at once a treatise on poetics and dramaturgy.[7] It propounds the view that *śṛṅgāra* identified with *abhimāna* and *ahaṁkāra* is the only *rasa* in the

[1] Several grammarians of the post-Pāṇinī period imitated Pāṇinī and prepared their own rules of grammar and arranged them in their own manner. Many of these attempts were made with the obvious intention of making Pāṇinī's grammar more comprehensible. Bhoja's attempt comes under this category. The work is profusely quoted by Nārāyāṇa Bhaṭṭa in his *Prakriyasarvasva*, which is a commentary on Pāṇinī's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Bhoja's grammar consists of eight *adhyāyas*, each *adhyāya* being divided into four *pādas*, exactly on the model of Pāṇinī's work. It is in the form of the *sūtras* of which there are 6000 in all. There is a commentary on the *sūtras* by Daṇḍanātha Nārāyaṇa.

[2] Published in Kāvyamālā Series, no. 94 (1934).

[3] It is divided into five *parichchhedas*. The first speaks of *kāvyaprayojana, kāvyalakṣaṇa, kāvyabheda*, 16 *doṣas* of *padas*, 16 of *vākya* and 16 of *vākyārtha* and 24 *guṇas* of *śabda* and the same number in *vākyārtha*; in the second *parichchheda*, the author treats of 24 *śabdālaṁkāras*; in the third he defines and illustrates 24 *arthālaṁkāras*; in the fourth *parichchheda*, the author dwells upon 24 figures of *śabda* and *artha* and in the fifth he treats of *rasas*, *bhāvas*, heroes and heroines and their sub-divisions and characteristics, the five *sandhis*, *mukha*, *pratimukha*, etc and the four *vṛttis*, *bhāratī* etc. *HSP*, p. 257.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Rāmasimha's commentary is published along with the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, in the Kāvyamālā Series. For Ājaḍa's commentary see the *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Pattan*, I, p. 37, no. 50.

[6] The entire text is not yet published. However *prakāśas* 1-8 have been edited by G.R. Josyer for the International Academy of Sanskrit Research, Mysore, 1955; *prakāśas* XXII, XXIII and XXIV have been published under the auspices of His Holiness Śrī Yatirāja Svāmin of Melcote. A short *prakāśa* XI is published in Dr. A. Sankran's work on *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani* and extracts from the SP text are given by Dr. V. Raghvan on pp. 513-542 in his *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.

[7] *RBS*, p. 9.

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higher sense.[1] Besides, Bhoja's contribution to poetics, a thousand things of interest, to almost all branches of Sanskrit learning, lie scattered in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*.[2]

The *Tattvaprakāśa*[3] is one of the simplest and clearest manuals of the sect of the Āgamic Śaivas. The object of the *Tattvaprakāśa* is to explain Śaiva philosophy as found in the *Śaivāgamas*, describing mainly the categories of *pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa*. *Śrī* Kumāra has written a commentary on this work.[4] The *Bhujabalabhīma* is a work of eighteen *adhyāyas* on astrological matters.[5] Bhoja's *Bṛhadrājamārtaṇḍa* seems to have been a work on *dharma-śāstra* quoted so often by later *dharmaśāstra* writers.[6] The *Rājamṛgāṅka* is a work on medicine.[7] Bhoja wrote another work with the same title on astronomy in Ś. 964 = 1042 A.D.[8] Bhoja's *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* is a voluminous treatise dealing with the technical subjects like town-planning,

[1] *RBS*, Chap. XVIII; *HSP*, p. 258. We are told by the *Ekāvalī* (p. 98) that in the *SP*, a single *rasa* alone has been admitted, *cf.*, राजातु शृंगारमेकमेव शृंगारप्रकाशे रसमुररीचकार। In the *Ratnāpaṇa* also (p. 221). Kumārasvāmi quotes the same view from the *SP*, *cf.*, शृंगार एक एव रस इति शृंगारप्रकाशकारः। Bhoja has been quoted as an authority on *rasa* and *alaṁkāra* by Someśvara (*JOI*, X (1961), no. 4, pp. 346-47).

[2] 'In his mammoth work', says C.P.R. Iyer, 'King Bhoja endeavours to bring under literature and literary appreciation everything of importance in Indian thought as embodied in Sanskrit literature, the method which Bhoja's massive mind adopts for this purpose is ecclecticism of an all pervading type'. Preface to Josyer's edition of the *SP*.

[3] Published in *TSS* and is translated by E.P. Javier, *IA*, LIV (1925), pp. 154ff.

[4] The *TP* has been quoted by Mādhava and later books, including Śrikaṇṭha Śivācarya's *Bhāṣya*.

[5] It is often cited by Raghunandana in his *Tithi-tattva*, *Saṁskāra-tattva* and *Śrāddha-tattva* (*KHDh*, I, p. 278). It is also referred to by Śūlapani and by Rudradhara (*ibid*).

[6] *KHDh*, II, pp. 275 ff.; *JBBRAS*, 1925, pp. 222-24; *ABORI*, XXXVI, pp. 306-339; *JOR* (Madras), XXIII, pp. 94-97.

[7] Bhoja is quoted as an authority on medicines by the author of the *Gandhavāda* :

Cf. हिरडे, लाखमेट, राकाली, गुलु. "कांबलेनि गलुनि धेइजे"—"भोंजराजकृतवाद्री" नवनीत खोलडे, खोबरें जुनें मोचरसु, सद्यघृत, मधु, चूना, कालीरोंल, जवादिसुद्ध, पोयिंसरातिं। *SILH*, I, p. 306, Folio, 38.

[8] *KHDh*, I, p. 279.

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house-architecture, temple-architecture and sculptural subjects like *pratimā-lakṣaṇas*, iconography, iconometry and iconoplastic art, together with the *mudrās*, the different hand poses, the poses of the body as well as the postures of legs. It deals with the canons of painting and devotes a big chapter to the art of mechanical construction, the *yantras*. The *Yuktikalpataru*[1] deals mainly with architecture, arts and crafts. Here and there we have references to *dūta*, *koṣa*, army, alliance, town-planning and boats.[2] His *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā*, is a *kathā* written in Sanskrit prose with some of the peculiarities of the *ākhyāyikā* form of composition.[3] It follows the same pattern and resembles in style the earlier prose romances like the *Kādambarī* and the contemporaneous works like the *Tilakamañjarī*.[4] Its style is simple in narration and is embellished with various kinds of *alaṁkāras* in the descriptive passages.[4]

The *Vyavahāramañjarī* is ascribed to Bhojarāja[5] and is referred to by Vimalabodha, a commentator of the *Mahābhārata*.[6]

[1] In a lengthy article, Sri P.A. Mankad has made a strenuous effort to prove that the *SS* and *Yukti* were from two different pens. *ABORI*, XVII, pp. 358ff.

[2] Bhoja quotes a number of works and authors in his *Yuktikalpataru* and is particularly indebted to Nakula, the author of the *Aśvachikitsita*. Bhoja is said to have reproduced its passages in his *Aśvayukti* section of the *Yuktikalpataru*. *SILH*, II, pp. 161ff.

[3] *SMK*, Chap. IV.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *SILH*, I, pp. 212ff.; *BSOAS* (London), XV (1953), pp. 594ff.

[6] *ABORI*, XVIII, p. 194. We reproduce here the reference to the *Vyavahāramañjarī* as quoted in *SILH*, I, p. 212 :

एवं नानारूपे व्यवहारपुरुष इति अयं च सार्धश्लोको भोजराजेन व्यवहारः जर्या मिन्यथा व्याख्यातः । उभयोः सत्यानृतप्रवृत्तयोर्वादिप्रतिवादिनोर्विरुद्धो व्यवहारः । स चोभयधर्मग्राहित्त्वात् । उभयात्मा पुरुषः कोऽपि नीलोत्पलदलश्यामः शिताशितात्मा सत्यानृतप्रवृत्तत्वात उभयोश्चतस दंष्ट्रा यस्मिन् स तथा । एवमुभयोश्चत्वारः पादाः । भाषोत्तरक्रियाप्रत्याकलितपादचतुष्टयसहिता अष्टौ पादाः यस्मिन् स तथा । नैकानि बहूनि उभयोर्नयनानि यस्मिन् स तथा । चतुरचरत्वात् । व्यवहारस्य ।

Another work of Bhojadeva mentioned by Theodor Aufrecht and Dr. P.V. Kane *viz*, *Vyavahāra-samuchchaya* is known only by references in other works on *dharmaśāstra*. It is difficult to decide whether *Vyavahāramañjarī* mentioned by Vimalabodha and *Vyavahāra-samuchchya* referred to by Raghunandana (*KHDh*, I, p. 631), are identical or otherwise. For the present we may take them as separate works.

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The *Champurāmāyaṇa* also called *Bhojachampu* is a work in three *kāṇḍas*, the first five are said to have been written by Bhojadeva, the sixth by Lakṣmaṇakavi and the seventh by Venkatadhavarin.[1]

Bhoja's *Avanikūrmaśataka*[2] consisting of two Prakrit poems, is engraved on the slabs in his Bhojaśālā at Dhārā. Each poem consists of 109 stanzas in the *ārya* metre, which are devoted to the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu.[3]

N.P. Chakravarty records the find of two more Prakrit poems of Bhojadeva engraved on the slabs in Bhojaśālā at Dhārā.[4] As the colophon of the poem starts with *iti Mahārāja-dhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Bhojadeva-virachitaḥ-Kodaṇḍa . . .*, we can only conclude that the title of the literary piece began with *Kodaṇḍa*. It seems that the poem now preserved in fragments contained at least three *śatakas*.[5]

The *Vidvajñāna-vallabha* is a work on *praśnajñāna* (science based on the prediction of dreams) and is ascribed to Bhoja who is represented as a powerful sovereign.[6]

[1] At the end of the sixth *kaṇḍa*, Lakṣmaṇakavi writes :

प्राग्भोजोदित पञ्चकाण्ड महितानन्दे प्रबन्धे पुनः ।
काण्डो निर्मित एक चूतपतिना विरचितः षष्ठोऽपि जीयाच्चिरम् ॥
इति श्रीं लक्ष्मणकविविरचिते चम्पूरामायणे ।

At the end of the Seventh *kāṇḍa* Venkatadhvarin says the same while mentioning his own contribution also, *cf.*, यः काण्डो निबन्ध चम्पुविधया पञ्चापि भोजः कविः ।

[2] *EI*, VIII, pp. 241-62.

[3] Mr. Pischel, the editor of the *Avanikūmāraśataka*, doubts the authorship and feels that king Bhoja was probably pleased by the flattering contents so much that he allowed the poems to be ascribed to himself. *EI*, VIII, p. 242.

[4] *ASI*, 1934-35, p. 60.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] प्रश्नज्ञानम् । अन्ते । आख्या दालिल [?] वारिराशिरशनविच्छेदिनीं मेदिनीं
शास्त्येको नगरीमिव प्रतिहतो [त] प्रत्यर्थिनो यस्य सा ॥
प्रश्नज्ञानमिदं स पार्थिवशिरोविन्यस्तपादांबुजः
श्रीविद्वज्जनवल्लभाख्यमकृत श्रीभोजदेवोनृपः ॥
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजभोजदेवविरचिते प्रश्नज्ञाने चिंताध्यायोष्टादशः ।

Bhandarkar, R.G., *Report on Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1882-83, App. BB, p. 220.

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Bhoja seems to have written also a book on music and dancing for he is quoted by *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhā as an authority on *saṅgīta* (music), in the latter's work *Saṅgītarāja*.[1]

Two more works *i.e. Nāmamālikā*[2] and *Śālihotra*[3] have been ascribed to Bhoja. The former is a work on lexicography and is of the nature of a compilation. The *Śālihotra* is an interesting work dealing with horses, their diseases and remedies.

A passing review of Bhoja's literary activity, such as we have had just now, bears brilliant testimony to his mastery of Sanskrit literature and his intense desire to popularise almost all branches of knowledge. He has systematised and simplified most things that he has touched. Some of his works do not lack originality. It is, of course, impossible to believe that he wrote everything that bears his name. But even if they were written under his supervision, by his court-*Paṇḍitas*, it is great to have been the general editor of so many important works, to all of which he probably also contributed something of his own besides his push, drive and inspiration.

The next poet-king among the Paramāras was *Sukavi-bandhu* Naravarmaḥ. The famous Nagpur *praśasti*, which is a composition of this prince,[4] shows that its composer was well versed in rhetorics and possessed a fine imagination. The composition of the *sarpabandha* inscription of Mahākāleśvara at Ujjain is also attributed to Naravarman.[5] Naravarman has displayed his mastery in the use of allegories, similes and other poetic embellishments which go to make a good *kāvya*.[6]

[1] *Cf.* श्री सोमेश्वरभोजराजश्चितान् ग्रन्थान् विलोक्य त्वमुं ।
तत्सारेण समुच्चितेन कुरुते श्रीकालसेनो नृपः ॥ *Saṅgītarāja*, I, p. 6.

[2] Ed. by E.D. Kulkarni, Poona, 1955.

[3] Ed. by E.D. Kulkarni, Poona, 1953.

[4] *EI*, II, pp. 183-95.

[5] *EI*, XXI, pp. 25-31.

[6] In the lines 18-19 of the text are enumerated the letters of Sanskrit alphabet arranged classwise, each group being followed by a numeral indicating the number of its letters. The figure 51 at the end shows the total number of letters in the two lines. The *praśasti* contains fourteen *Maheśvara-sūtras* which occupy lines 21-22. It is noteworthy that the arrangement of the alphabets given in the chart generally follows the lines of the fourteen *Maheśvara-sūtras* of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The *bandha* sets forth in a nut-shell, the basic elements and the first essentials of Sanskrit grammar. *EI*, XXI, pp. 25-27.

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Another poet among the Paramāra kings was king Arjunavarman whose inscriptions state that he was the repository of poetry and song and relieved Sarasvatī of her book and lute.[1] His *Rasikasaṁjīvanī* is a very good commentary on the *Amaruśataka*.

Of the Paramāras of Abu, Prince Prahlādana is celebrated as a great poet.[2] His one act *vyāyoga* (military spectacle), *Pārthaparākrama* was enacted on the occasion of the festival of the investment of the thread of God Achaleśvara.[3] Prahlādana wrote some other works of which some verses are preserved in the anthologies.[4]

Equally remarkable were the literary productions of the poets who flourished under the Paramāra rulers, who were quick to recognise merit and rewarded it suitably.

Halāyudha was patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa III and lived at Mānyakheṭa. But later on he migrated to Ujjain and enjoyed the munificent patronage of Vākpati Muñja. Of his works that have been published so far, are the *Kavi-rahasya* is a book on poetics; the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* is a lexicon which formed the basis of Hemachandra's more famous *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, and the *Mṛtasaṁjīvanī* is a commentary on the *Piṅgalachhandaḥśāstra*, a book on the metrics; in which he speaks of his patron king Vākpati II.[5] Of these the last was definitely written at Ujjain.

Padmagupta or Parimala, the poet laureate of Vākpati II and Sindhurāja, was the son of Mṛgāṅkadatta. At the command

[1] काव्य गान्धर्व सर्वस्वनिधिना येन साम्प्रतम् ।
भारावतारणं देव्याश्चक्रे पुस्तकवीणयोः ॥ *JAOS*, VII, p. 26.

[2] *Vide* App. V.

[3] The story of the *Pārthaparākrama*, taken from the *Virāṭaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, is the well-known one of the recovery by Arjuna of the cows of Virāṭa. The struggle that the play describes, is not caused by a woman. The feminine interest is restricted to the figures of Draupadī and Uttarā and the hero is neither a divine being nor a king. *Vide*, Keith, A.B., *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 265.

[4] The *Suktimuktāvalī* and *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* quote some verses of Prahlādana. *Cf. Pārthaparākrama* (GOS, IV), App. II.

Prahlādana's poetry is described as possessing the qualities of *Samatā*, *Samādhi* and *prasāda Cf.* सन्दर्भः सुकवेः समाधिसमतागर्भः कुमारस्य च ।
प्रह्लादनस्य कविता वसतिः प्रसत्तेः । *Pārthaparākrama*, p. iv.

[5] *Piṅgalachhanda-sūtravṛtti*, p. 34.

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of Sindhurāja he wrote, sometime in the early years of the eleventh century, his famous *kāvya* the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, the main theme of which is to commemorate the marriage of Sindhurāja with the Nāga princess Śaśiprabhā.[1] It is a historical *kāvya* divided into eighteen *sargas*. Padmagupta seems to have borrowed a few facts from the Mahābhārata and the legends current in Mysore about the Nāgas.[2] Many verses of Padmagupta have been quoted by later writers,[3] but no other major work of his has been discovered so far.

Uvaṭa, the son of Vajraṭa of Ānandapura, was a great Vedic scholar. He wrote his *Mantrabhāṣya* while living in Avanti and when Bhoja was ruling over the country.[4] Aufrecht ascribes the *Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya-bhāṣya* or *Paraṣāda-bhāṣya*, *Mātrimodaka Vājasneyi-prātiśākhya-bhāṣya*, *Vājasneyisaṁhitā-bhāṣya* or *Mantrabhāṣya* and *Vedārtha-dīpikā Sarvanukramabhāṣya* to Uvaṭa.[5]

Dhanañjaya, son of Viṣṇu, was a court-poet of king Vākpati Muñja. His masterly treatise on dramaturgy, the *Daśarūpa*, was composed in Malwa in the last quarter of the 10th century

1 *NC*, Chap. I ; *vide ante* Chap. V.

2 While reading the description of Sindhurāja's entry into Narmada in pursuit of the Nāga princess, one is at once reminded of Arjuna's entry into Gaṅgā and his meeting and marriage with Ulupī (*Mbh, Ādiparva*). The names like Bhogavatī, Śaṅkhapāla (Śaṅkhamukha in the *Mbh*), Ratnāvatī, the capital of the Nāgas, seem to have been borrowed by the poet from the Mysorean traditions. *Vide*, Rice, *Coorg and Mysore*.

3 *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 173-76.

4 ऋष्यादीश्च पुरस्कृत्य अवन्त्यामूज्जटो वसन् ।
मन्त्रभाष्यमिदं चक्रे भोजे राष्ट्रं प्रशासति ॥

From Uvaṭa's *Mantrabhāṣya*, no. 14, Fol. 150a ; Fol. 135b, 145a, no. 15, Fol. 35a, has—

आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यवज्रटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।
मन्त्रभाष्यमिदं क्लृप्तं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥

In another copy of the Bhāṣya of the last chapter under no. 15 we have—

भोजराज्येप्रशासति for भोजराज्यं प्रशासति ।

Bhandarkar, R.G., *Report on Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1882-83, App. II A, p. 191.

5 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 70 ; Peterson's 4th *Report on Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Intro., p. 17.

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A.D.[1] In its treatment of dramaturgy it is based on the time-honoured authority of Bharata.[2] Dhanañjaya is, however, comparatively more precise and restates the general principles in the form of a practical, condensed and systematic manual.[3]

Dhanika was the brother of Dhanañjaya and son of Viṣṇu.[4] He hailed from Ahichchhatra and settled in Malwa before 974 A.D.[5] He is said to have been the *Mahāsādhyapāla* of Utpalarāja *i.e.* Vākpati II.[6] It seems that Dhanika was connected with administration under Vākpati II. Dhanika's most famous work is the *Avaloka*, a commentary on the *Daśarūpa*. Dhanika quotes from Vākpati Muñja as well as Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* and is himself quoted by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa* (poetics).[7] His *Avaloka* must therefore have been written in the reign of Sindhurāja. From the *Avaloka* we learn that its author composed poems in Sanskrit and Prakrit and also wrote a treatise entitled *Kāvya-nirṇaya*, which, apparently dealt with the general topics of poetics.[8]

Paṇḍita Chhittapa, who is quoted in a number of Sanskrit anthologies and was an inhabitant of Bhilsa area, seems to have been a court-poet of king Bhoja and the latter perhaps conferrred upon him the title *Mahākavichakravartin*.[9] No complete work of this poet has been discovered so far except a recently published *Khaṇḍakāvaya* in praise of the sun-god, inscribed on a stone at Bhaillasvāmin or Bhilsa.[10] The record which is written in the *anuṣṭubh* metre contained originally 23 stanzas, all of them addressed to the sun-god. The last of these stanzas speaks of the composition as a *stūti* (hymn).[11]

[1] *Daśarūpaka* (tr. by George C.O. Haas), Intro., p. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.
[3] De, S.K., *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, pp. 122-23.
[4] *GHP*, p. 285.
[5] *IA*, VI, p. 53.
[6] Wilson, H.H., *Select Specimen of Hindu Theatre*, pp. XX, XXI. Wilson however is not correct in identifying Utpalarāja with a country, for we know for certain that Utpalarāja was another name of Vākpati II. *Vide ante* Chap. V.
[7] *SK*, pp. 123-24.
[8] De, S. K., *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[9] *EI*, XXX, p. 215-19.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*

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Śrī Sūtradhāra Malla was the son of Nakula who was a favourite of king Bhānu of the dynasty of *Śrī* Muñja and Bhoja.[1] This Bhānu has been identified with king Udayāditya of the Paramāra dynasty, but on grounds which are not very convincing.[2] So far Malla's one work namely *Pramāṇamañjarī* alone has come to light. The importance of this work lies in the fact that in contrast to other works on *śilpa* which generally devote themselves to temples and palaces, referring only cursorily to the houses of the common men, this work concerns itself mainly with the neglected subject of the houses of the three *varṇas*.

Bilhaṇa was the Minister of Peace and War of kings Vindhyavarman, Arjunavarman and Devapāla. He was a man of great learning and is called the king of poets by Pt. Āśādhara whom Bilhaṇa once addressed as such, 'Dear Āśādhara, let me tell you that we are not just fast friends but we are brothers, as we are both the sons of Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning'.[3] The fragmentary Mandu inscription, composed by Bilhaṇa, contains a highly poetic description of God Viṣṇu in his various incarnations.[4]

Another poet patronised by king Vindhyavarman was Sulhaṇa who lived at the king's court at Mandu. His only work known so far is a commentary on Kedāra's *Vṛttaratnākara*[5] composed in V.S. 1246=1190 A.D.[6]

Madana, who on account of his great learning and poetic talent was known also as Bālasarasvatī, was the preceptor

1 श्री मुञ्जभोजान्वयभानुभूपप्रसादपात्रं नकुलाभिधानः ।
शिल्पी सुतस्तस्य चकार शास्त्रं मल्लाभिधः सत्क्रियते नितान्तम् ॥
Pramāṇamañjarī, p. 24.

2 *Ibid.*, Intro., p. 5 ; *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XIX (1959), p. 31.

3 *ABORI*, XI, p. 53.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51.

5 It is a standard work on Sanskrit metres, composed in about 1000 A.D. The commentary is now published in *BUJ*, XX, pt. II (Sept. 1951) ; *ibid.*, XXI, pt. II (Sept. 1953) ; *ibid.*, XXII, pt. II. (Sept. 1954).

6 According to this work Sulhaṇa was a Dākṣiṇātya belonging to the Kṛṣṇāatreya *gotra* and was the son of Bhāskara and grandson of Velāditya, who was himself a good poet. Sulhaṇa quotes or refers to Kālidāsa, Bhāravī and the poet who composed the *Saitava-kāvya*, probably the *Setubandha* of Pravarasena.

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(*rājaguru*) of king Arjunavarman.[1] The most famous composition of Madana, that has come to light so far, is his *nāṭikā* called the *Pārijātamañjarī*,[2] which originally consisted of four acts. Of these only two have been discovered at Dhārā. The hero of the play is king Arjuna and the heroine his wife Pārijātamañjarī or Vijayaśrī.[3] Three inscriptions of king Arjunavarman were composed by *Upādhyāya* Madana.[4] Quotations from *Rasikasaṁjīvanī* show that he composed other poetical works besides these and 'it is not unreasonable to suppose', says Hultzsch, 'that he aided his royal pupil very materially in the compilation of the commentary on the *Amaruśataka*'.[5] Prof. Theoder Aufrecht assigns the composition of *Bālasarasvatīya*[6] to Madana.

Padmagupta refers to a poetess named Sītā who composed a song, eulogising the deeds of Upendra, the founder of the Paramāra dynasty.[7] The *Prabandhachinatāmaṇi* describes Sītā as a contemporary of Bhojadeva.[8] But as she is referred to by the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, she must have definitely lived prior to Bhojadeva and might have been a contemporary of Upendra.[9]

The *Rājaśekhara-charita*, a work believed to have been composed in the first quarter of the 11th century mentions the poetesses Kāmalatā, Kanakāvallī, Sunandā and Vimalāṅgī.[10] Of these the last three are said to have hailed from Malwa. But they are not known from any other source and the works from which the stanzas of the poetesses are quoted, are all lost. It is difficult, therefore, to judge from these specimens, the value of their contribution to literature.

[1] In his commentary on the first verse of *Amaruśataka*, Arjunavarman quotes a *Sārdulavikrīḍita* verse of the preceptor (*upādhyāya*) Madana, whose epithet was *Bālasarasvatī*. *Amaruśataka*, p. 2.

[2] *EI*, VIII, pp. 96-122.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *JAOS*, VII, p. 25 ; *ibid.*, p. 33 ; *JASB*, V (1836), p. 378.

[5] *EI*, VIII, p. 98.

[6] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt. I, p. 425.

[7] *NC*, XI, v. 77 ; *vide ante* Chap. IV.

[8] *Pc*, p. 43.

[9] Later on the chronicler Merutuṅga, not being well conversant with the history of the early Paramāras but being fully conversant with the traditional reputation of Bhoja, put her in the latter's time.

[10] *Great Women of India*, p. 293.

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The Paramāra rulers, though followers of the Brahmanical religion, extended their liberal patronage to Jainism as well.[1] They were equally generous to Jaina scholars also, who received royal patronage at the courts of the Paramāra chiefs. Consequently, Malwa witnessed affluent activity in the field of the Jaina literature during our period. Some of the well-known Jaina scholars of the period were :

Devasena who seems to be the earliest known Jaina writer of our period. He wrote his *Daraśanasāra* in V.S. 990=933 A.D.[2] while staying in the Pārśavanātha *chaitālaya* at Dhārā.[3] The work deals with Jaina philosophy and is written in Prakrit.[4] Two other works *viz* the *Arādhanāsāra* and *Tattvasāra* are also attributed to Devasena.[5]

Dhanapāla was the son of Sarvadeva and grandson of a Brāhmaṇa named Devarṣi who belonged to the Kāśyapa-*gotra* and hailed from the town named Saṁkāśya (in the present Furukhabad district of U.P.)[6]. Dhanapāla was not favourably disposed towards Jainism in the beginning, but later under the influence of his brother Śobhana he adopted Jainism and became a follower of Śvetāmbra sect.[7] Dhanapāla was a contemporary of three Paramāra rulers, *viz* Sīyaka II, Vākpati II and king Bhoja. He was awarded the title *Sarasvatī* by Vākpati Muñja.[8] He had complete mastery over Sanskrit and Prakrit. Dhanapāla's *Pāiyalachchhīnāmamālā* is a Prakrit-*koṣa* and was composed in 972 A.D., when Sīyaka II

1 *Vide ante* Chap. XIV.

2 पुव्वायरियकयाइं गाहाइं संचिऊण एयत्थ ।
सिरिदेवसेणगणिणा धाराए संवसंतेण ॥४९॥
रइओ दंसणसारो हारो भव्वाण णवसए णवई ।
सिरिपासणाहगेहे सुविसुद्धे माहसुद्धदसमीए ॥५०॥ *JSI*, p. 175, fn. 1.

3 *RKJBKGS*, p. 133.

4 *Ibid.* ; see also *Anekānta*, June 1962, p. 80, fn.

5 *Paṇḍita* Āśādhara wrote a commentary on the *Arādhanāsāra*, which is not available now. Another commentary written by Ratnakīrti, a pupil of Kṣemakīrti, however, is available and has been published. The *Arādhanāsāra* and *Tattvasāra* contain respectively 115 and 74 *gāthās*. Another Prakrit work, known as *Nayachakra* or *Sukhabodhārtha-mālā-paddhati*, might have been composed by this Devasena.

6 *JSI*, p. 409.

7 *Vide ante* Chap. XIV.

8 श्रीमुञ्जेन सरस्वतीति सदसि क्षोणीभृता व्याहृतः ।

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sacked Mānyakheṭa. The *Tilakamañjarī* is a Sanskrit prose *kāvya*, written to satisfy the curiosity of king Bhoja about Jina-*dharma*. It is one of the important works in Sanskrit prose and besides shedding valuable light on the contemporary social and religious life of the times, it gives also some political information.

The *Satyapurīyā-Mahāvīra-Utsava* (*Apabhraṁśa*) is a poem in praise of Mahāvīra's image at Satyapura. Incidently it sheds some light on Maḥmūd's route which he took during his campaign of Somanātha. The *Caturviṁśikā-ṭīkā* is a Sanskrit commentary on Śobhana's work *Caturviṁśikā*.

He also wrote *Mahāvīra-stūti* and *Ṛṣbhapaṁchāsikā*, both in Prākrit.

Śobhana was the younger brother of Dhanapāla. His best known composition is *Caturviṁśikā-stūti*.

Mahāsena was a court-poet of king Vākpati II and the preceptor of Sindhurāja's *mahattama* Parpaṭa[1] at whose request he wrote his *Pradyumnacharita*.

Harisena is said to have written his *Dharmaparīkṣā* in V.S. 1044=987 A.D., that is during the reign of king Vākpati II.[2]

Amitagati claims to have been honoured by Muñja, Sindhurāja and Bhojadeva. He has written books on various subjects and all the avilable books of his are in Sanskrit language. He wrote his *Subhāṣitaratnasaṁdoha*, an anthology in V.S. 1050=993 A.D., when Vākpati II was ruling in Malwa.[3] The author being a staunch Jaina, has devoted nearly 217 *ślokas* to *Śrāvaka-dharma*.[4] Another work known as the *Upāsakachāra*[5]

[1] आसीत् श्रीमहासेनसूरिरनघः श्रीमुञ्जराजार्चितः
सीमा दर्शनबोधवृत्ततपसां भव्याब्जिनीबांधवः ॥३॥
श्रीसिन्धुराजस्य महत्तमेन श्रीपर्पटेनार्चितपादपद्म :।
चकार तेनाभिहितः प्रबन्धं स पावनं निष्ठितमंगजस्य ॥४॥

Prasasti of *Pradyumnacharita*.

[2] *Apabhraṁśa Jaina Grantha Praśasti Saṁgraha*, edited by Pt. Parmanand Sastri, Jain Vīrasevāmandir, Delhi. (The off-prints were kindly shown to us by the editor).

[3] The work is divided into 32 chapters each consisting of 20 to 25 verses.

[4] This section can be regarded almost as an independent work on Śrāvakachāra.

[5] Published in *Anantakīrti Jaina Granthamālā*.

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and popularly known as *Amitagati-śrāvakachāra*, is considered to be the simplest and the most detailed account of the subject among the available works of that period. In this, the poet has given neither the date of the composition nor the name of the place where it was composed. Amitagati's *Dharmaparīkṣā*, composed in V.S. 1070=1013 A.D., consists of 1945 *ślokas* and can best be regarded as a satire on popular Hinduism. His *Pañchasaṅgraha* is a compendium of Jaina philosophy and was completed in V.S. 1073=1016 A.D. Written in mixed prose and verse, it is almost a Sanskrit version of the *Gommata-sāra*.[1]

Prabhāchandra was a great *Paṇḍita* of Dhārānagarī and was one of the leading literary figures[2] of the reign of Bhoja I and Jayasiṁha I.[3] He wrote on subjects like Jaina philosophy,[4]

[1] In addition to those Amitagati is said to have written *Sāmāyika-pāṭha* and *Bhāvanā-Dvatriṁśatikā* which has been published from various places. In some of the catalogues of the manuscripts some more works have been attributed to Amitagati *viz Jambūdvīpaprajñapti, Chaṁdra-prajñapti, Sārddhidvayadvīpaprajñapti* and *Vyākhyāprajñapti*. But none of them have been discovered so far. *Vide JSI*, p. 281.

[2] चन्द्रश् शश्वयश्स प्रभाचन्द्रं कविं स्तुवे। कृत्वा चन्द्रोदयं येन शाश्वदाह्लादितं जगत्॥ From the off-print of '*Malwa-Maṇiṣi* by Shri S.N. Vyas.

[3] Shri S.N. Vyas puts him in the 7th or 8th century A.D. But Prabhāchandra actually lived later (*i.e.* in the 11th century A.D.). This is proved by the fact that Prabhāchandra in the colophon of his *Uttarapurāṇa-ṭippaṇa*, gives the date of its composition as V.S. 1080= 1023 A.D., when king Bhojadeva was ruling.

Cf. श्री विक्रमादित्य संवत्सरे वर्षाणामशीत्यधिक सहस्रे महापुराणविषमपदविवरणसागर-सेनसैद्धांतान् परिज्ञाय मूलटिप्पणकांचावलोक्य कृतमिदं समुच्चयटिप्पणं। अल्पातभीतेन श्रीमद् बलात्कारगणश्रीसंघाचार्य सत्कवि शिष्येण श्रीचन्द्रमुनिना निज दोर्दंडाभिभूतरिपुराज्य-विजयिनः श्रीभोजदेवस्य ॥ इति उत्तरपुराणटिप्पणकं प्रभाचन्द्राचार्यविरचितं समाप्तं ॥

RKJBKGS, p. 145.

This Bhojadeva was no other than Bhoja the Great who ruled between 1010 A.D. to 1055 A.D. Prabhāchandra outlived Bhojadeva and was patronised also by his successor Jayasiṁha I, during whose reign he completed his *Mahāpurāṇa-ṭippaṇa*.

Cf. श्रीजयसिंहदेवराज्ये श्रीमद्धारानिवासिना परापरमेष्ठिप्रणामोपार्जितामलपुण्यनिराकृता-खिलमल कलंकेन श्रीमंत प्रभाचन्द्र पंडितेन महापुराण टिप्पणकं सतत्र्यधिक सहस्रत्रय प्रमाणं कृतमिति। *RKJBKGS*, p. 145.

[4] *Cf. Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa.*

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nyāya,[1] *acāraśāstra*,[2] *śrāvakadharmadarśana*,[3] *adhyātama*,[4] *siddhānta*,[5] *kathā*[6] and *charitra*.[7] He wrote some commentaries *i.e.* the *Uttarapurāṇaṭīkā*, *Mahāpurāṇaṭīkā*, *Swayaṁbhūstotraṭīkā* and *Kriyākalāpaṭīkā*.[8]

The Jaina poet Vīra wrote his *Jambusvāmicharita* in 1019 A.D. in Mālavadeśa during the reign of Bhoja I. His father Devadatta came from Guḍa-kheḍa and was the writer of *Varaṅgacharita* and *Ambādevīrasa*.[9]

Śrīchandra was a court-poet of king Bhoja I,[10] and is credited with the writing of the *Purāṇasāra*, *Mahāpurāṇaṭippaṇa* and a commentary on *Padmacharita* of Ravisenācharya.

Nemichandra wrote the *Dravyasaṁgrahaṭīkā* (Sanskrit) during the reign of king Bhojadeva.[11] It is a brief exposition of Jaina philosophy in 58 stanzas.[12]

Nayanandi was a contemporary of king Bhoja and wrote his *Sudarśana-charita* while staying in the Jinavaravihāra at Dhārā in V.S. 1110=1053 A.D.[13] It is a Prakrit work in which the poet has made use of various *chhandas viz dohā*, *gāthā*, *dupadī*,

1 *Cf. Nyāyakumudachandrīkā.*

2 *Cf.* Ratnākāṇḍaśrāvakāchāraṭīkā.

3 *Cf. Kriyākalāpaṭīkā.*

4 *Cf. Samādhiśatakaṭīkā* and *Ātmānuśāsnaṭīka.*

5 *Cf. Dravyasaṁgrahavṛtti* and *Pravachanasarojabhāskara.*

6 *Cf. Ārādhanakośa.*

7 *Cf. Yaśodhara-charitra-ṭippaṇa.*

8 For reference to these works see *RKJBKGS*, pp. 101, 103, 135, 145, 53, 34, 82, 192, 127, 216, 434 and 439 : see also *JSI*, p. 221.

9 *Apabharaṁśa Jaina Grantha Praśasti Saṁgraha, Praśasti* no. 6.

10 Some scholars regard Śrīchandra as identical with Prabhāchandra. It seems, however, that they have been misled by the fact that both, Śrīchandra and Prābhachandra lived at the same place (*i.e.* Dhārā), have written commentaries on Puṣpadanta's Apabharaṁśa work *Mahāpurāṇa* (*JSI*, p. 286) and they belonged to the same period. (*i.e.* 1st half of the 11th century A.D.). A comparative study of the *grantha-praśastis* of the two poets, however, reveals the fact that they were two different poets patronised by king Bhoja (*ibid*).

11 The poet writes that at the time of the composition of the *Dravyasaṁgrahaṭīkā*, which he undertook for the sake of the Śrāvaka Moma, he was living in Śrīpāla Maṇḍaleśvarāśrama at Dhārā in Malwa, during the reign of king Bhojadeva.

12 Published in *Sulbha Jaina Granthamālā.*

13 *Anekānta*, Nov. 1956, p. 98.

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chaupadī, etc.[1] Another work of his is the *Sakala-vihi-vihāna*. An Apabhraṁśa work called *Arādhanā* is also ascribed to Nayanandi.[2]

The *Kathākośa* written in the middle of the 11th century A.D. mentions Śrutikīrti, the spiritual predecessor of Śrīchandra, who was honoured by kings Bhoja (I) and Gāṅgeyadeva.[3] Śrutikīrti seems to have flourished in the earlier period of Bhoja's reign.

Jinavallabha was a contemporary of king Naravarman and lived at Chitrakūṭa. It is said in the *Kharataragachchhapaṭṭāvali* that once two scholars from south India came to the court of king Naravarman and put before the court *paṇḍitas* a *samasyā* (literary riddle) '*kaṇṭhe kuṭhāraḥ kamaṭhe ṭhakāraḥ*'.[4] None of the scholars of Dhārā could solve this riddle of the south Indian scholars, but it was solved by Jinavallabha who wrote a letter to Naravarman containing the following lines:

re re nṛpāḥ! Śrī-Naravarma-bhūpa-prasāda-nāya kriyatāṁ natāṅgāiḥ ;

kaṇṭhe kuṭhāraḥ kamaṭhe ṭhakāra-śchakre yad-aśvo-'gra-khurāgra-ghātāiḥ ॥[5]

Jinavallabha left behind himself enough literature to serve as a guide for his followers.[6]

Some other contemporary Jaina scholars of Naravarman's reign were Samudraghoṣa,[7] Vijayasiṁha Sūri[8] and Ratnasūri.[9]

1 *Anekānta*, Nov. 1956, p. 98.

2 *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhaṇḍāra at Pāṭaṇ*, p. 61. Nayanandi, in his works, refers to a number of past and contemporary poets, *i.e.* Vararuchi, Vāmana, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra, Pāṇini, Pātañjali, Piṅgala, Guṇabhadra, Siṁhabhadra and Daṇḍin.

3 *Apabhraṁśa Jaina Grantha Praśasti Saṁgraha*, Praśasti no. 7.

4 *Kharataragachchha-bṛhad-gūrvāvali* (SJS, no. 42), p. 13.

5 *Ibid.*

6 The *Śārdhaśataka-bṛhadvṛtti* of Sumatigaṇi notes following as his chief works :

सूक्ष्मार्थसिद्धान्तविचारसारषडशीति, सार्धशतक, पिण्डविशुद्धि, पौषधविधि, प्रतिक्रमण-समाचारी, संघपट्टक, धर्मशिक्षा, द्वादशकुलक, प्रश्नोत्तरशतक, शृंगारशतक ।

7 From the *Amamsvāmi-charita* we learn that Samudraghoṣa, a pupil of Chandraprabha of the Chandragachchha, answered the questions of king Naravarman of Malwa and entertained the latter by his knowledge.

8 He was Samudraghoṣa's pupil and wrote a commentary on the *Upadeśamālā-vṛtti* during the reign of king Naravarman.

9 Muni Ratnasūri, the author of the *Amamsvāmichcvita*, was a contemporary of Naravarman. He wrote the *Amamsvamicharita* at the

(*Contd. on next page*

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Paṇḍita Āśādhara belonged to the first half of the 13th century A.D. and was a contemporary of Paramāra kings Vindhyavarman, Subhaṭavarman, Arjunavarman, Devapāla and Jaitugideva. He belonged to the Baghervāla family of the Vaiśyas and originally belonged to Maṇḍalagarh in Mewar. He was the son of Sallakṣaṇa and *Śrī* Ratnī. His wife was Sarasvatī and his son Chāhaḍa is described as one who had pleased king Arjunavarman (*cf.* Rañjitārjunabhūpatiṁ). When Sapādalakṣa was conquered by Shihāb-ud-dīn Muḥammad Ghori in 1192 A.D., Āśādhara for the fear of being molested by the Muslim soldiers, left his motherland and migrated with his family to Malwa. He seems to have settled down in the town of Nalakachchhapura,[1] which became thereafter the centre of his literary activity. He had a profound knowledge of Jainism

The most well-known work of Āśādhara is the *Dharmāmṛta*, which is in nine chapters and is divided into two parts, one dealing with the religion of Sagāras and the other of the Anāgāras. Āśādhara himself wrote two commentaries on this work known as the *Svopajña-pañjikā* called the *Jñanadīpikā* and the *Bhāvyakumudachandrikā* composed in V.S. 1300=1243 A.D. He wrote a work on logic known as the *Prameyaratnākara* which is referred to in his *Jinayajñakalpa*. He wrote also a small poem known as the *Rājīmatīvipralaṁbha*. Besides these, Āśādhara wrote commentaries on a number of works.[2] His *Nityamahodhyota* deals with the ceremonial bathing of the idol

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request of Naravarman's minister Yaśodhavala and his son. Ratnasūri was praised by the courtiers of Naravarman for having defeated Vidyaśiva in a literary contest at Ujjain in front of the image of Mahākāla. *Vide* Desai, M.D., *Jaina Sāhitya no Itihāsa* (Gujarātī), p. 239.

[1] *Cf.* जिनधर्मोदयार्थं यो नलकच्छपुरेऽवसत् ।

[2] Āśādhara's *Darpaṇa* is a commentary on the *Mūlārādhanā* of Śivāchārya ; *Iṣṭopadeśaṭīkā* is a commentary on the *Iṣṭopadeśa* of the Pūjapāda ; (*Jinaratnakośa*, p. 31 ; *MDJGM* series no. 13) ; *Kriyākalāpa* is a commentary on the *Amarakośa* ; *Dhyotini* is a *ṭikā* on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdqya* of Vāgabhaṭa, a non-Jaina author ; and a commentary on the *Kāvyalaṁkāra* of Rudraṭa (non-Jaina). Some other commentaries ascribed to him are the *Bhupāla-Chaturviṁśṭīkā*, *Sahasranāmastavanaṭīkā*, and *Arādhanāsāraṭīkā*.

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of Jina.[1] His *Jinayajñakalpa* was composed in V.S. 1285=1228 A.D. and is commented upon by Śubhachandra.[2]

Āśādhara was well-known as a grammarian and a teacher. Devendra is said to have studied grammar under Āśādhara; Viśālakīrti attained mastery over *tarkaśāstra* (logic) sitting at his holy feet; Vinayachandra became well-versed in the doctrine of the Jainas under his careful supervision and he taught Madana the art of poetry.[3]

The Jaina teacher Devendra lived at Ujjain. He is mentioned as a pupil of Jagatchandra and a guru of Vidyānanda.[4] Devendra is the author of *Karma-grantha* (a treatise in Prākrit *ārya* verse on the Jaina theory of future influence of arts). His *Siddha-pañchāsikā* contains fifty Prākrit *ārya* verses on the beings who attain spiritual beatification.[5]

Devendra was succeeded by Vidyānanda in the *Sūripada* and he by Dharmaghoṣa who enriched Jaina literature of Malwa by various works. He died in 1330 A.D.[6]

A general review of the facts given above shows that the period witnessed literary activity in all the three languages, Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa. If literature be the test of a country's culture, Malwa under the Paramāras can surely claim as having attained a very high degree of cultural growth.

[1] It is referred to in v. 17 of the *praśasti* of *Dharmāmṛta* by the author. It is published with its commentary *Śrutasāgara* by Pannalal Soni in the *Abhiśekhapāṭhasaṅgraha*, Bombay.

[2] Many more works have been ascribed to Āśādhara *viz Ratnatriyā-vidhāna*, *Kalyānamālā* (*Jinaratnakośa*, p. 81), *Sarasvatīstūti* (*RKJBKGS*, p. 191), *Devaśāsatragurupūjā* (*ibid.*), *Gaṇadharavalyapūjā* (*ibid.*) ; *Jalayā-trāvidhāna* (*ibid.*), *Pratiṣṭhāpāṭha*, composed in V.S. 1285=1228 A.D. (*ibid.*), p. 521), *Dhavajaropaṇavidhi* (*ibid.*), p. 392), *Śāntihomavidhāna* (*ibid.*, p. 545), *Siddhapūjā* (*ibid.*, p. 554).

[3] Bhandarkar, R.G. *Report on Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, p. 104.

[4] Peterson's 4th *Report on Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 57 ; *ibid.*, App. I, pp. 29, 51.

[5] He is credited also with the composition of the *Śrāddha-dinakṛiya*, *Dharmaratnavṛtti*, *Sudarśana-charita*, *Chaitya-vandana-bhāṣya*, *Siri-Usaha-Vaddhamāṇaprabhṛtistavādayah* and *Siddha-daṇḍika-stava*. (*Ibid.*, Intro., p. 57, *IA*, XI, p. 255).

[6] *IA*, XI, p. 255.

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Section II

ARCHITECTURE[1]

The Paramāras had obviously much to contribute in the field of literature. But their contribution in architecture too was no less impressive. They were great builders and in the field of architecture, Malwa reached a high pitch of excellence under their patronage. This is evidenced by the magnificent temples of Udaipur, Nimar, Un, Mahidpur, Moṛi, Devakhetra and Girwar, which rank high amongst the best specimens of early medieval Indian architecture. Even the number of the surviving temples in the Paramāra dominions is staggering. It seems as if a wave of temple building had swept over this land in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. The Paramāra architecture has suffered due to the ravages of weather and time, as well as the fanaticism of the Muslim invaders. We can, however, have an idea of the architectural richness of this period from the few specimens that are left to tell the tale of glory of this period.

To get a clear idea of the artistic merits and special features of the sacred architecture of the Paramāra dominions, it will be best to describe some of the typical monuments of our period.

In the long array of sacred structures the Udayeśvara temple at Udaipur stands supreme and fortunately it has escaped from the ravages of the idol breakers. It was built by king Udayāditya Paramāra between the years 1059 and 1080 A.D.[2] The temple stands in a spacious square courtyard with a rectangular projection in the centre of each side. It is enclosed with a dwarf compound wall, the outer face of which was decorated with carvings. A line of stone seats furnished with back rests, ran all along the inner face of the enclosure wall.[3] The compound was probably pierced with four entrances one in each cardinal point, the principal entrance being on the east towards which the temple faces. Each entrance consisted of a

[1] Our account of Paramāra architecture is based mainly on the archaeological reports and photographs obtained from The Archaeological survey of India, New Delhi.

[2] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

[3] Pl. I, Fig. 1.

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flight of steps, guarded on either side by a figure of *dvārapāla* or door-keeper.

The temple was surrounded by eight attendant shrines at least six of which are crowned with spires and sheltered subsidiary idols. Two of these shrines have disappeared altogether, whilst the rest exist in various stages of ruin.[1] The principal temple consists of a *garbhagṛha* or shrine room, a *sabhā-maṇḍapa* or a hall and three *praveśa-maṇḍapas* or entrances, porches arranged on the east. The idol worshipped is a large *Śiva-liṅga* set on a high pedestal. 'The exterior of the sanctum is of a foliated star-shaped plan, the points of the star, meaning the chases between the central bands on the four faces, being obtained on the principle of rotating squares'.[2] The bands are remarkable for their elegance of design and refined carving. The exterior of the temple is profusely adorned with sculptures[3] representing various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon including Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and the eight guardians of the quarters placed in their proper positions. The figures of Śiva and his consort Durgā in various forms predominate as the temple is dedicated to Śiva.

The crowning beauty of this temple lies in its well proportioned *śikhara*, decorated with its own miniature repetitions arranged in vertical ribs and medallions and is set with figures of gods. A curious human figure fixed up near the pinnacle of the spire, is variously interpreted as that of Naṭarāja, or the architect who designed the edifice or as the royal builder climbing up to heaven in virtue of the religious merit which he earned by constructing such a magnificent temple.

The pink-coloured sand-stone employed in the building shows its grandeur. As every part of this temple is carved with great precision and delicacy and as the whole is in a fairly perfect condition to the present day, there are few examples of its class which give a better idea of the medieval temple architecture of this country.

On the northern fringe of the Satpura ranges in the plain of Nimar lies a township named Un which, it appears, was a flourishing town under the Paramāras, for about a dozen

1 Pl. II, Fig. 2.
2 *SE*, p. 603.
3 Pl. III, Figs. 3 and 4.

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temples lie clustering about it, representing an architecture patronised by the Paramāras of Malwa. With the exception of Khajurāho, perhaps there is no other place in northern India, where so many ancient temples are still to be found intact. The carvings on the temples at Un are slightly less elaborate than those on the celebrated temples at Khajurāho; but in most respects they compare favourably with the Khajurāho group.[1] The Un temples are both Hindu and Jaina, and of the former the most important is the Chaubara Dera[2]. Like most of the temples of the period it is planned with a large-pillared hall in the centre, the sacred shrine at the back, an elaborately carved porch in the style of Sāsbahu temple at Gwalior, in front, and similar small porches on the sides. Over the shrine, as usual, was an imposing and lofty spire, which is now half gone, thus exposing the minor core of the frame-work of the stone masonry for which no lime or cementing material was used. In the *maṇḍapa* four carved round pillars support four large stone lintels and those in their turn support the dome which is carved elaborately in the style of the domes of the temple of Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla at Delvāḍā on Mt. Abu.[3] The exterior of the structure bears the usual carved facing, though the ornamentation here is more subdued in tone. In the interior the most notable features are the carvings and figure sculptures on the two door frames, one offering entrance to the hall and other to the shrine proper. A closer examination of the figures in them especially on the lintels above will indicate that the temple was originally dedicated to Śiva, as the representations of Śiva and Saptamātṛkās are seen in the centre.[4] The Jaina images which were found in this temple belong to some other contemporary shrine and seem to have been removed there at a much later date.

At a short distance to the north in the town, is the temple of Mahākāleśvara, the central hall of which has disappeared. The *śikhara* is adorned with clusters of miniature *śikharas* on all sides,[5] which is a characteristic of Paramāra architecture. To the north-west of this, outside the town, is a temple called

[1] *PRAS, WC,* 1918-19, pp. 61-62. [2] Pl. IV, Fig. 5.
[3] *PRAS, WC,* 1918-19, pp. 61-64. [4] *Ibid* ; Patil, D.R., *op. cit.*, p. 133.
[5] Pl. V, Fig. 6.

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Ballāleśvara which is sacred to god Śiva. It is much smaller in proportion and with a later built dome over the shrine in place of the original *śikhara*.[1] In the heart of the village stands another temple of Śiva called Nīlakaṇṭheśvara.[2] Its beautiful carvings and figure sculptures representing god Śiva, the Sapta-Mātṛkās and other Hindu divinities.[3]

Of the Jaina temples at Un, the most notable is the temple called Chaubara Dera No. II.[4] In spite of the loss of its *śikhara*, the temple still remains as one of the most beautiful monuments at Un. The central hall is spacious having eight beautifully carved pillars to support the roof. The carvings here are also of a high order and the temple as a whole can be taken as a good specimen of Paramāra style of architecture.[5]

The Sidheśvara ṭemple of Nimar[6] is one of the most beautiful temples of northern India. It is, as the name indicates, sacred to God Śiva and is now in a comparatively well preserved condition. The structure was raised on a large stone paved plinth with a retaining platform along the bank of the river to protect it from the fury of the floods of the stream. In plan it consists, as usual, of a shrine, surmounted by a lofty spire or *śikhara*, with a pillared hall or *sabhā-maṇḍapa* in front, approached by three projecting porches. The *maṇḍapa* is open on three sides and the *gṛha* with its *śikhara* is built of beautiful yellowish grey sand-stone. The exterior of the main shrine below the *śikhara* is faced with numerous decorative carvings and figure sculptures, the latter representing Śaivāgamas, Bhairava, Śiva in his *tāṇḍava* dance or in other forms, Brahmā, Brāhmaṇī Mahiśāsuramardinī etc.[7] The roof of the *maṇḍapa* or hall is supported on massive pillars all covered over with decorative

[1] Pl. V, Fig. 7. [2] Pl. VI, Fig. 8.

[3] Close by is another temple of Śiva, called Gupteśvara because the shrine proper is now underground. The other parts of the original structure have disappeared.

[4] *PRAS, WC*, 1918-19, pp. 61-62; Pl. VI, Fig. 9.

[5] At a short distance from this, across the road, is another Jaina temple called Gvāleśvara temple. It is well preserved. In plan it is similar to Chaubara Dera No. II. The level of sanctum or shrine here is below that of the hall in front. Inside it are three well-preserved Digambara Jaina images standing in a row bearing short votive inscriptions, on their pedestals. They belong to the 13th century A.D.

[6] Pl. VII, Fig. 10. [7] Pl. VII, Fig. 11.

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patterns and figure sculptures.[1] Its ceiling is elaborately and profusely carved with beautiful lotus designs and rows of brackets shaped to represent female figures standing in different poses. The exterior of the hall and porches are also richly adorned with figure sculptures and other carvings.

Artistically and architecturally, the *śikhara* of the temple should be considered to be its most attractive feature.[2] It closely resembles in style and execution the spire of the famous Udayeśvara temple of Udaipur[3]. In both the spire is adorned with clusters of well arranged and proportioned miniatures of its own, a feature which is characteristic of most of the temples built under the Paramāras of Malwa in the 11th or 12th centuries of our era.[4]

The Bhojeśvara temple, which was evidently named after king Bhoja, is a simple square in plan. Four massive pillars support an incomplete dome inside the building. The pillars are tapering in appearance.[5] The dome itself is magnificent and is carved with rich designs.

The Paramāras of Abu too were great patrons of temple architecture and according to tradition their capital Chandrāvatī contained 108 temples, but they are now in complete ruins.

To the west of the village Kāyadrān is a temple which is built of marble and dedicated to Apeśvara-Mahādeva?[6] It consists of a shrine, antechamber, hall and porch. The central space of the hall is covered by an old dome supported by eight columns arranged in an octagon. In addition to these, there are short pillars resting upon the parapet walls. Of the latter those in front of the antechamber are elegantly carved. This lintel of the antechamber has Gaṇeśa on the dedicatory block. Inside the shrine is a *liṅga* and carved into the back wall is a colossal

[1] Pl. VIII, Fig. 12. [1] Pl. VIII, Fig. 13.

[3] Pl. IX, Fig. 14.

[4] At a little distance from here, to the north, on a high mound, stands, what looks like an unfinished temple. In plan it is now seen with a shrine only, the *śikhara* having been probably not raised at all. (Pl. IX, Fig. 15). Its door frame and existing exterior are likewise found richly adorned with figure sculptures and carvings. Amongst the sculptures the predominance of Vaiṣṇava figures would indicate that the structure was originally meant to be dedicated to that god.

[5] *Imperial Gazetteer*, VIII, p. 121.

[6] *PRAS. WC*, 1906-07, pp. 24-25.

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Trimūrti image, consisting of three faces and six hands. In front of the temple was a *toraṇa* of which one pillar is now in site and the temple is surrounded by attendant shrines. Of them, one contains Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Lakulīśa in niches; and the second has Viṣṇu, Ambikā and her vehicle, the tiger and Śiva-Pārvatī in niches. The niches of the third shrine contain Sūrya. The spire of the main shrine as well as the attendant shrines consist of bricks coated with plaster.

Not more than a mile north-west of Muṅgthalā is a temple dedicated to Madhusūdana.[1] The temple faces the west and is situated in a walled enclosure. Exactly in front of this enclosure is a beautifully carved *toraṇa* which, to judge from the style of its pillars, resembling those of the Vimala Sa's temples belonged to the 11th century.[2] The temple consists of a shrine, *gūḍhamaṇḍaṇa*, *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and a porch. The doors of the shrine and the closed hall are elaborately sculptured. The exterior of the temple is plain. The *śikhara* of the temple is old and is in Gujarat style.[3]

The Jainas during our period mostly limited their architectural activity to Dilwārā on Mt. Abu. They built very many fanes, of which the most important are the Vimala-Vasāhī temple, built in 1031 A.D. and Tejaḥpāla temple built in 1230 A.D.[4] Externally both the temples are very simple in form, in the interior, the pillars and the dome are lavishly adorned with decorative designs in Gujarat style. In the words of Fergusson, 'the temples are finished with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to be found anywhere else'.[5]

The foregoing description of the Paramāra temples reveals that the plan of the temple of our period was no longer a simple affair as in earlier periods with a small square shrine and with a porch in front. It had become complicated, for now it consisted of a *garbhagṛha* or a womb-house, where the presiding deity was enshrined, under an exquisitely carved ceiling over which stood a lofty spire or *śikhara*, an object of wonder for the laity of the locality.[6] In front of this sanctum

[1] *PRAS, WC*, 1906-07, pp. 26-27. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.* [4] *EI*, IX, p. 151 ; *EI*, VIII, p. 218.
[5] *History of the Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 41.
[6] Patil, D.R. *op, cit.*, pp. 33-34.

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was planned a large pillared hall or *sabhāmaṇḍapa* for the congregation of the community where all the problems of their sophisticated lives could be laid bare and solved. It was this *sabhāmaṇḍapa* that linked the various threads of their diverse social lives into one common pattern. Every inch of this huge *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, such as its massive pillars, ceilings, architraves, was covered with carving as if like the life of the people, it could not be kept vacant or void and must reflect it as far as within its power. The whole episodes from the great epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, were sometimes represented to beacon life's higher aspects, or gay figures of dancing girls in graceful poses were occasionally portrayed, nay even the cruder aspects of the amorous or dallying spirit of man could find place here, for is not life made of all these things? In front and on both sides of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* were raised graceful porches all covered with sculptures or other ornamentation in keeping with the dignity of the whole structure.[1] A number of attendant shrines for the various members of the family of the presiding divinity in the great temple sometimes clustered round about it. The whole scheme was occasionally completed by a most exquisitely carved *toraṇa* gateway, offering an auspicious entrance to the huge premises of the abode of the god within.

The Paramāra kings founded a number of cities and constructed a number of lakes after their own names. Vākpati II Muñja is credited with the foundation of Muñjapura and the excavation of Muñja-*sāgara*.[2] Bhoja is said to have rebuilt the city of Dhārā which had already become the capital of the Paramāras and raised it to the status of one of the greatest cities of his age. Of the remnants of that glorious city, which are now left, the most notable is, what is now called the Kamāl Mauła's mosque, said to have been once the great college known as Bhojaśālā, called after the name of the founder who was known in the then Indian world for his great love of learning and literature. The carved pillars used over the building and delicately carved ceilings of the prayer hall, seem to have belonged to the original Bhojaśālā. In the pavement of the prayer hall are seen numerous slabs of black slate stone, the writing on which has been scrapped off. A few slabs, recovered from the

[1] Patil, D.R., *op. cit.*, p. 35. [2] *Vide ante* Chap. V.

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other part of the building, contain the texts of the parts of the poetic works like the *Kūrmaśataka* and *Pārijātamāñjarī*,[1] as well as a grammatical chart, containing the Sanskrit alphabet and rules of grammar, belonging to the reigns of Udayāditya and Naravarman.[2]

Twenty miles south of the city of Bhopal are the remains of another city founded by Bhoja *i.e.* Bhojapura from where an inscription of Bhoja has been discovered.[3] Not far from Bhojapura, to the west is Bhojapura lake which is said to have been the largest and the most beautiful sheet of water in India.[4] It covered a valley, close to where two of the main branches of the infant Betwa unite in order to pass through a narrow gorge about 18 miles to the south-east of Bhopal. The gorge in question was dammed across. The lake appears to have been 16 or 17 miles in length and 7 or 8 miles in breadth. According to the common belief, 360 villages now fill the bed of the lake of Rājā Bhoja and it is certain that the tract in question is one of the most fertile in Bhopal.[5] The remains of the embankments across the Betwa show that it may have been about a hundred feet in height and perhaps 300 yards in length at the top. The dam across the hollow is scarcely a mile in length, so that the place selected was in every way well adopted for the object in view.

King Udayāditya is credited with the foundation of Udaipur (now a small village), which lies 4 miles by a metalled road to the east of the Bareth station on the Central Railway between Bina and Bhilsa. It must have been a town of considerable importance, splendour and architectural grandeur as is evidenced by the existence of Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple here. Udayāditya is said to have excavated a tank which he designated as Udayasamudra.

King Devapāla's name is connected with the foundation of the city of Devapālapura or Depālpur, now merely a village, about 27 miles to the north-west of Mhow.[6] He also got excavated a lake known as Depālasāgara, at one end of that

[1] See above Sect. I.
[2] *EI*, XXXI, pp. 25-30.
[3] *Indian Archaeology,—A Review*, 1959-60, p. B-70; *EI*, XXXV, p. 185.
[4] *JASB*, VIII (1839), p. 814 ; *JASB*, XVI (1847), p. 740.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *EI*, XXXII, p. 141.

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village which is now a fine sheet of water,[1] covering a space of several square miles.

Bhoja in his *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* devotes a full chapter to town-planning[2] and house architecture has got a significant place in this treatise. The *Pramāṇamañjarī*, as we have said earlier concerns itself mainly with the neglected subject of the houses of the three *varṇas*, and is a work on domestic architecture as distinguished from royal or religious architecture.[3]

The city, according to the contemporary literature, had an outer wall which was usually white-washed.[4] It was circular in form and studded with precious stones.[5] This wall used to have watch-towers with high decorative indentations.[6] The city wall had four gateways[7] with broad and heavy doors. A moat encircled the entire city-wall. The city had main roads and streets lined with shops and palaces and residential quarters. It also had parks, lakes, wells, tanks and artificially watered public baths.

The *Samarāṅgaṇa* lays down certain canons[8] for house-building for different classes of society. It suggests that a Śūdra should not have more than a 3½ storied house, a Vaiśya not more than 5½ storeys, a Kṣatriya not more than 6½ storeys and a Brāhmaṇa not more than 7½ storeys; kings of various religious merits, not more than 8½ storeys. The *Pramāṇamañjarī* also recommends that the number of storeys should depend upon the class and status of the owners--kings, different *varṇas* and even the Yavanas (Muslims) are included in the list.[9] The *Samarāṅgaṇa* deals with palaces which were classified into three, namely *jyeṣṭha*, the superior type; *madhyama*, the intermediate type, and *kaniṣṭha*, the inferior type.[10] Besides, it also deals with public buildings like *nyāya-śālā*, *pustakaśālā*, *vidyābhavana*, *nāṭaka-saṅgīta-śālā*, *mārga-śālā* (rest house), *kūpas*, *vāpīs* and *taḍāgas*.[11] The *Pramāṇamañjarī* classifies houses according to their heights

[1] *PRAS, WC*, 1919-20, p. 102.
[2] *SS*, I, Chap. X.
[3] See above, p. 325.
[4] *SS*, I, Chap. X; see our account of towns in Sect. II of Chap. XV.
[5] *Ibid.*, *SMK*, Intro., pp. 7-9.
[6] *SS*, I, Chap. X, v. 31.
[7] *Ibid.*, v. 38.
[8] *Vāstu-śāstra*, I, p. 326.
[9] *PM*, vv. 274-81.
[10] *SS*, I, Chap. XV.
[11] *Ibid.*

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as *kaniṣṭha*, *madhyama* and *jyeṣṭha* and these three are further subdivided, making nine classes in all.[1]

The floors of the buildings seem to have been studded with crystals. The roofs were sloping. The houses had small projecting balconies called *vallabhikā* or *vaḍabhī*. Besides these there were particular projections in houses at certain heights on which swans or pigeons were carved.[2] The walls of the mansions were white-washed from outside but decorated within with pictures and precious stones. The courtyards and arches (*toraṇas*) were essential for the buildings. The pillars (*stambhas*) even in the most ordinary houses were decorated with figures in dance-poses and dramatic gestures.[3] Wooden structures seem to have been very popular.

Royal palaces had special audience halls and pleasure pavilions (*krīḍā-maṇḍapas*).[4] The *chandraśālā* was a special apartment on the terrace from which the rising moon was observed.[5] On the ground were built pavilions (*vedikās*) and raised seats (*vitaṅkas*).[6] These were decorated with precious stones. The most interesting feature was the *yantra-dhārā-gṛha*,[7] which was an ideal resort for the summer season. Its construction being elaborate, only kings could afford it. The *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* at the very outset shows that the king was seated in a *dhārā-gṛha*.[8] The description of the city of Dhārā includes, however, another *yantra-dhārā-gṛha*, which was accessible to the people of the city.[9]

Section III

SCULPTURE

With the development of architecture followed certain changes in the sculpture of Malwa. A large part of the art during our period is primarily religious and majority of the themes handled are accepted as serving the needs of a life

1 *PM*, vv. 41-45.
2 *SMK*, p. 80.
3 *PM*, vv. 247-49.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *SMK*, p. 80.
6 *Ibid.*
7 Described in the *Kādambrī*, *Yaśastilaka-champu*, *Tilakamañjarī*, *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhārā*, *Śṛṅgāramañjarīkathā* and many other works.
8 *Cf.* धारानगरवर्णनम्
9 *Ibid.*

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religious in aim and inspiration. There were three factors that determined the development of sculpture in our period, *viz* (i) the rapid development of temple architecture making an enormous demand on the part of sculpture; (ii) the encroachment of religious or iconographic texts laying down rules and regulations concerning mathematical relations and of artistic proportion and balance, thus putting a positive hindrance in the development of a really creative art; and (iii) the bewildering growth in the number and forms of divinities, to be represented in stone, making the art rather stereotyped and lifeless.

The most important figure of the period is the famous image of Vāgdevī (goddess of speech) now in the British Museum, London. It belongs to the reign of king Bhojadeva.[1] It was executed in 1034 A.D. by the famous sculptor Maṇṭhala.[2] The goddess is in the *abhaṅga* pose. Of her four hands, the front pair are mutilated. She wears a crown and her ear-rings hang down to her shoulders. She wears a pearl necklace round her neck and a pearl embroidered band encircles her breast, her waist is decorated all round. She is attended by five subordinate figures, two above and three below. On the left below are a *ṛṣi* and a dwarf, and on the right, probably Pārvatī on the lion. On the left above is a flying female figure with a garland in her hand; the other figure is indistinct. The Devī is in meditative mood. Her *urumālā* (thigh ornament) and carnet are Dravidian in style and the ornaments of her arms remind one of the early images of Bengal and Orissa.[3] In the opinion of O.C. Ganguly, 'the image is a *chef-d'aeuvre* of rare beauty, in its exquisite serenity of pose, in its entrancing and balancing rhythm, in the elegance and suavity of its equiline features, and in the general restraint in the treatment of the anatomy, which is almost free from any exaggeration. To us, the emotion of its static conception, almost alternating between a *rājasika* and a

[1] Pl. XI, Fig. 16.

[2] *Rūpam*, 1924, p, 2; Rao, G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pt. II, pp. 377-78; Chanda, R.P., *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, p. 46; *GHP*, p. 272; Shivaramamurti, C, *Indian Sculpture*, pp. 106-07.

[3] *GHP*, pp. 272-73.

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sātavika, is most appealing'.[1] Shri Shivaramamurti acclaims it as one of the most marvellous creations of the sculpture of the Paramāra realm patronised by Bhoja.[2]

Another master-piece of the Paramāra sculpture is the grey sand-stone, ten-handed dancing Durgā,[3] which is now in the National Museum, New Delhi.[4] The Devī is in the *abhaṅgamudrā*. She is wearing *karaṇḍa-makuṭa*, whilst round her neck is a pearl necklace and another hangs between her breasts. She is also wearing a *muṇḍa-mālā* which goes down right upto her thighs. She is wearing ornaments on her arms which resemble in style those of Vāgdevī of the British Museum, London. Her waist is covered with ornaments. On her left side is a figure which appears to be that of a lion, the *vāhana* of Durgā. Unfortunately this important image is highly mutilated. The hands have disappeared completely.

Another Paramāra image was discovered at Dhārā. It is carved out of hard white stone and is in a perfect condition.[5] Mr. Garde has identified this goddess as Pārvatī. The style of her ornamentation agrees in general with that of the Sarasvatī image of Bhoja. She wears a necklace of pearls, a crown and ear-rings. Her four hands are adorned with ornaments. Her breast-band, drapery and thigh ornaments are similar to those of the Sarasvatī image. She is attended by eight figures. On the top are the representations of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and Śiva; and below are the female attendants with *chowrīes*. There are also sacrificial altars, two on each side. The goddess is immersed in deep meditation, with her hands in an attitude of prayer. Her face breathes an air of purity and is expressive of divine serenity. Mr. Garde suggests that she is engaged in performing the *pañchāgnisādhanā* which, according to the Purāṇas, was undertaken by Pārvatī for obtaining Śiva as her

1 *Rūpam*, 1924, p. 1.

2 *Indian Sculpture*, p. 107.

3 Pl. X, Fig. 17.

4 It originally belonged to the Dabhoi fort, from where it was removed to Baroda Museum. It was then brought to the Rashtrapati Bhawan Museum, from where it has now travelled to the National Museum, New Delhi.

I am grateful to the curator of Baroda Museum for supplying me the above information and to the National Museum, New Delhi, for the photograph of the above image.

5 See Pl. on p. 99 of *ABORI*, IV.

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husband.[1] It contains an inscription dated 1081 A.D. which falls within the reign of king Udayādityas.[2]

An image of Śiva, the lord of dance, belonging to the 11th century, was discovered from Ujjain and is now lying in Gwalior Fort Archaeological Museum.[3] It is five feet high. This ten armed image (arms on left proper are broken), is dancing in *aiñdra* posture,[4] the right arm thrown staff-like (*daṇḍa-hasta*) across the body and the left raised in *abhayamudrā*. The other arms on the right proper show the trident (*triśūla*), 'emblem of the triple hierarchy of manifestation, and the three qualities (*guṇa*) of which the manifest world is made' ; the next hand is *pataka-hasta* and conveys power, it shows at the same time that the dance has just begun. The next upper hand holds *damaru* and the other holds serpent. The back slab by which the arms are connected suggests the expanse of the skin of the elephant demon, killed by Śiva and raised triumphantly.[5]

Another ten-armed image of Śiva discovered from the Śiva temple in Ramgarh, Kotah (Malwa) of *c.* 1000 A.D., is shown dancing after the total and simultaneous defeat of the Titans in heaven, on earth and the mid-region.[6] Śiva, the universal, all filling god holds high his bow. To the right of Śiva is Gaṇeśa, his son who takes part in the dance.[7] The image—a very high relief and partly carved in the round—is badly damaged. There is triumph in the calm face and in the bow-wielding arm of the dancing god, and sovereignty in his crowned head thrown back and looking upwards. This movement is echoed in the convoluted mats of Gaṇeśa, but the rest of this very high relief is sculpturally inert, without *sattvaguṇa* and perturbed by the *rajoguṇa*.[8]

An eight-armed large image was discovered from Jhālerāpātan. It is a composite image, representing the four gods—Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya in combination.[9] The arms are all broken, but the Nāga of Śiva remains where it was held in an upper hand ; the figure is booted with long Persian boots, as is the case with Sūrya only. In front of it stands a *liñga* with four

[1] *ABORI*, IV, pp. 99-102.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Kramrisch, S., *The Art of India*, p. 209.
[4] *Ibid.*, Pl. 110.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 400.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *PRAS, WC*, 1904-05, pp. 31-32.

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images carved upon it and they probably represent the same deities.[1]

The Apeśvara-Mahādeva temple of Kayādrān contains a colossal Trimūrti image, carved into the back-wall. It consists of three faces and six hands, two for each. All have matted hair; that to the proper right has a wreath of skulls on the head, and that to the left has his throat decorated with the coils of a serpent, whose head forms a nicely carved clasp, together with the head of another coming from the other side of the latter.[2]

The Śiva temple of Devāṇagṅa contains an image of Trimūrti. It is not an image of three gods—Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā—blended into one, but of a form of Śiva. It consists of three busts each with two hands, the central one holds a rosary of beads and citron, and the third has in right hand a torch and left a doubtful object. All the busts have their breasts adorned with necklaces, and in one of the central one, we have a serpent entwining its breast below the necklace and a third eye prominently in the forehead.[3]

The Sūrya temple of Varman, contains a large sculpture of Gajalakṣamī, placed in the courtyard of this temple. Water drawn by the dwarfs from the reservoir is passed on to women sitting at a higher level, who are represented as handing it over to women sitting at a still higher level, who are represented as handing it over to elephants standing above them; these in their turn pass it on to a pair of elephants standing at a still higher level, which empty the *kalaśas* over the head of the goddess seated on a *kamalāsana*. The design and execution of this sculpture are extremely happy.[4]

The sculpture of Malwa during our period reflects an admixture of both the east Indian tradition of Bihar and Bengal and that of Rajputana and Gujarat, where the medieval trends found their most congenial home.[5] The figures of the Paramāra period are largely and vigorously conceived and modelled in ample dimensions and are informed by classical value of form.[6] They are free from jerky movements and intense flexions, and do not seem to feel the weight of the heavy roundness which

1 *PRAS, WC*, 1904-05, pp. 31-32. 2 *PRAS, WC*, 1906-07, pp. 24-25.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 29. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
5 *SE*, p. 658. 6 *Ibid.*

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characterises their youthful body.[1] 'The face, also fully and vigorously modelled', observes S.K. Saraswati, 'however wears an expression of blankness and is lighted up neither by any pleasure of the senses nor by any inner experience, urge or inspiration'.[2] The legs are stumpy and ornamentation is characteristically medieval.

Section IV

PAINTING

Though no tangible evidence is now left of the works of painting during our period, there is no doubt that the art was quite popular among the aristocratic sections of society. The author of the *Samarāngaṇasūtradhāra* has devoted a full section to painting.[3] Dhanapāla's *Tilkamañjarī* contains very useful and interesting references to technical terms used in this art as well as the conversations of princes and painters and *chitrāchāryas*. Prince Harivāhana is eulogised as a *pāradṛśva* in *nṛtya*, *chitra* and *gīta*.[4] The princes and princesses were masters of fine-arts and the painters used to carry pictures to them for criticism and appreciation. One passage shows how a prince spent long hours in trying to solve the *chārutvatattva* in the company of the town folk, well versed in the *chitraśāstra* (*alekhaya-śāstravids*) and masters of art (*chitravidyopādhyāyas*).[5] At a mere sign of the brow the prince gets the picture, wrapped in silken covers, laid bare and unrolled,[6] and the beautiful form of the figure is

[1] *SE*, p. 658. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Bhoja has discussed at a great length the relationship between aesthetics and painting. He has also dealt with the *Rasas* and *Rasadṛaṣṭis* in the chapter entitled *Rasadṛaṣṭi-lakśaṇam*, wherein he declares that the manifestation of sentiments in pictorial images (*chitra*) is dependent on the *rasas*. Then follows the exposition of eleven *rasas* and eighteen *Rasadṛaṣṭis*, most particularly suited to a school of painting in relation to their delineation in pictures and images.

[4] *Cf.* नृत्यगीतचित्राविकलशास्त्रपारदृश्वा हरिवाहनो नाम कुमारः । *TM*, p. 133.

[5] मकरध्वजायतनदीर्घिकातीरपरिसरे निषण्णः संनिधानवर्तिभिश्चित्र-
विद्योपाध्यायैरन्यैश्च जनपरम्पराजनितकुतूहलैश्चित्रमवलोकयितु-
मागतैरालेख्य शास्त्र विद्भिर्नागरलोकैः सह विचार यन्नविचार्य
चारुत्ववत्तत्त्वं तस्याश्चित्रपट पुत्रिकाया रूपमपसारितापरविनोदः पूर्वाह्नमनयत् ।
TM, p. 144.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 132 ; *IC*, II, p. 200.

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revealed to him for his critical estimate of it. All day was sometimes spent by the prince in looking at numberless pictures of the most reputed beauties of the day, so great was his passion for the art![1]

Dhanapāla also informs us of the way the *chitraśālās* were maintained when he describes the floor of the hall of a *chitraśālā* as being smeared all over with rich sandal paste.[2] In different passages of the *Tilakamañjarī* we have references to *rangavalī* drawn with coloured powders and white watery solution.

On the methods employed by the painter for producing a picture we have ample interesting information in the *Tilakamañjarī*. In one of the passages a princess is described as drawing the portrait of her lover.[3] Close to her is placed a casket full of brushes, and a big board is placed before her by her maids ; she begins the work and imagining over and anon the model transfixed in her mind, she paints. Now and then she pauses to think of him again, adds a touch on the canvas here and there and stops to see the correctness of her delineation.[4] Pictures were many a time drawn on *paṭas* which were carefully rolled up and preserved in silken covers and whenever required were unrolled and seen.[5]

Royal favour and munificence encouraged and maintained a distinct type of *chitrakāras* who proficient in theory and practice alike. Such *chitravidyopādhyāyas* were employed in the courts to teach the art to the members of the royal family. The *Tilakamañjarī* thus reveals to us an ocean of information on the art of painting that Dhanapāla has to give to the world and his work is a true reflection of the state of affairs in the art world of his day.[6]

According to K.P. Jayaswal and Yazdani, king Udayāditya was responsible for some of the paintings, containing battle scenes, in the cave-temples at Ellora.[7] One of the paintings

1 *TM*, p. 15.

2 चित्र-शालाख्यासंपाद्यमानहरिचन्दनपंकोपलेपनं । *Ibid.*

3 *TM*, p. 319.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

6 *IC*, II, pp. 200-03.

7 *Āchārya Dvivedī Abhinandana Grantha*, pp. 31 ff ; *YEHD*, p. 772; *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad*, 1927-28, Plates D , E. and F.

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contains a few words of an inscription written in Devanāgarī script which read as *Svasti Sri Pramāra*. Dr. Jayaswal thinks that the word *Pramāra* here indicates the Paramāra family. He further says that the script seems to be of the 12th century A.D. and as Paramāra Udayāditya, who is said to have won a number of victories, was ruling in the 12th century A.D., it is he who got these scenes painted at Ellora.[1]

Dr. Jayaswal's arguments however seem to be far from convincing. Firstly, because the inscription is badly mutilated so much so that the entire inscription except *Svasti Sri Pramāra* is gone. Then, the word Pramāra need not stand for Paramāra family for the usual form followed by the engravers is Paramāra and not Pramāra. As the name Pramardideva was very common among the Hoysaḷas and the Chālukyas who ruled in the south, Pramāra of Ellora paintings and the said inscription, seems to stand for some Pramardideva of the south and not a member of the Paramāra family. Secondly, as we have not found any specimen of Paramāra painting within the Paramāra territories, it is difficult to accept the authenticity of these paintings.[2] Hence it is difficult for us to agree with Dr. Jayaswal and Yazdani that Udayāditya got painted the battle-scenes in the cave temples at Ellora after his victories in the Deccan.

Other fine arts like music and dancing too would have flourished in the Paramāra dominions for we have references to them in the contemporary literature.[3]

Thus the Paramāra period saw an all round development in the sphere of fine arts. The Paramāra poets excelled in the field of poetry and general literature. Paramāra architecture vied with the best of architecture produced in other parts of

[1] *Āchārya Dviveḍī* Abhinandana Grantha, p. 33.

[2] In my discussion on the subject with Dr. Deshpande of the Archaeological Department and Shri Sivaramamurti and Dr. Puri of the National Museum, New Delhi, I was informed that most probably the paintings under discussion belonged to an earlier period whereas the inscription was perhaps inscribed much later.

[3] According to the *TM* (p. 215), women's education included subjects like नाट्यवेद and गीतवाद्य (*vide ante* Chap. XV). The *SMK* also enumerates music (*saṅgīta*) on the triple harmony of singing, dancing and instrumental music as the accomplishments of the women of Mālwa.

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contemporary India. Of the paintings we have not unfortunately any specimens. Their sculptures also have disappeared to a very great extent. But the few specimens that remain, show that in this field also the Paramāras were not behind any other contemporary Indian dynasty and had learnt to unite successfully physical with spiritual beauty.

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CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSION

OUR TASK of giving a comprehensive picture of Malwa, Arbudamaṇḍala, Kirāḍū, Vāgaḍa and Jalor under the Paramāras has now come to an end and only a few words are necessary by way of an epilogue. The Paramāras had not ruled in vain. They left behind a rich legacy, perhaps equalled by a few, but certainly not surpassed by any of the Rajput families that held sway over various parts of India from the ninth to the fourteenth century A.D. The Paramāra rulers are no bare names in the annals of the country; they have left behind foot-marks that even the running would recognise. The greatness of Muñja, Bhoja, Jagaddeva, Dhārāvarṣa and Prahlādana lies not merely in being great military leaders, but also in being the champions and lovers of Indian culture. They ruled over extensive territories, their armies scoured an area still greater, but the influence they exercised over the minds of the Indian people must be recognised as much more pervasive, for it outruns all boundaries of race, religion, culture, geography as well as time.

Coming from somewhere in the vicinity of Abu, probably with the avowed mission of protecting Hindu *dharma*, of which the *Agnikula* myth may be a distant echo and the use of the term *Brahma-kṣātrakulīna* might give a clue, this family had established itself in Malwa, in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. under the leadership of Upendra. The political fate of his early successors was, as we have seen, intimately connected with the Pratīhāra-Rāṣṭrakūṭa struggle, for Malwa being situated between the territories of these two imperial powers had to bear the first onslaught when these two states clashed. When, on the death of Mahendrapāla II, the Pratīhāra empire began to decline and its feudatories began to fight among themselves, the Paramāras also declared their independence and Sīyaka II, who had begun his career as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, became, before his reign closed, the initiator of the Paramāra imperialism. The first blow of the Paramāra imperialism, which attracted

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India-wide attention, was the sack of Mānyakheṭa in 972 A.D. This proved a decisive factor in the extinction of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire.

By 974 A.D. the Paramāras had become independent rulers, styling themselves as *Mahārājādhirāja-paramabhaṭṭāraka-parameśvaras*. But independence brought fresh problems. The Paramāras had now to provide for the defence of their rich, sprawling and strategically important territories, separated by no clear-cut geographical barriers from Gujarat, Bundelkhand, Rajputana and central India. The struggle with their neighbours naturally was intensified and geographically extended still further by the aggressive foreign policy of the Paramāra rulers, keen on establishing themselves as *chakravartins*. Thus started the tripartite struggle between the Chaulukyas, the Chāhamānas and the Paramāras. In this the Paramāras won the first round and their ruler Vākpati II extended his territories as far as Chitor and Āghaṭa and defeated the Chedi ruler Yuvarāja, the Hūṇas, Chāhamānas, Lāṭas and also a Gurjara Pratīhāra ruler. During his reign started also the Paramāra-Chālukya struggle which ended only with the end of the two dynasties. The next ruler Sindhurāja extended his dominions in the south-eastern direction and established his supremacy over a part of Berar.

The Paramāra imperialism reached its zenith under Bhoja the Great. The first half of his reign witnessed steady expansion of the Paramāra dominions. Mahmūd of Ghaznī, the greatest of the Muslim invaders of his time, had to beat a hasty retreat through the desert of Sind, because of the fear of the federated armies marching under the leadership of Bhoja Paramāra.

The removal of Bhoja's strong arm plunged the state into troubles, from which it was saved by the victories of Udayāditya. His successors were less successful, there was even an interregnum from 1135 A.D. to 1175 A.D. But the Paramāras recovered their power and continued to give protection to the people as well as the culture they loved, until their fall in the early years of the 14th century A.D.

The Paramāra family of Abu, founded by Sindhurāja (different from Sindhurāja of Malwa), passed very early under the orbit of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat; consequently it did not play as important a part in Indian politics as their kinsmen in Malwa. The Paramāras of Kirāḍū-Bhinmāl and the Paramāras

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of Jalor, both owing allegiance to the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, held out long against the expanding Chauhāns and were swept off the political scene only after the decline of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat had set in. The Paramāras of Vāgaḍa were a junior branch of the Paramāras of Malwa and mostly remained loyal to the main line. This family was dispossessed of its territory by the middle of the 12th century A.D.

Partly the fall of the Paramāras was due to their own doing. The ambitious foreign policy initiated by Sīyaka II was like a double-edged sword, which when wielded by capable hands like those of Muñja, Bhoja, Sindhurāja and Udayāditya brought victory and good fortune to Malwa, but in incapable hands brought defeat and misery to the land. The states, from which the Paramāras extorted money in the period of their glory, could at times combine and turn the tables on them. The Paramāra military mechanism too, though generally capable of meeting a challenge from its neighbours, failed miserably in the face of Muslim aggressions, not because the Paramāras were not brave but because their military organisation was comparatively very defective. The Paramāras failed also because they failed to see the signs of the times and did not realise that the only hope for the Hindus lay in uniting against the alien invaders.

The causes of the decline of other Paramāra lines were a little different. Their prosperity was tied up with the prosperity of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat and Paramāras of Malwa. They bent a little too heavily on them, with the result that the decline of these powers resulted almost in the extinction of these Paramāra families.

On the whole the Paramāras had proved great rulers. Their achievements were many and of a varied character. The combined extent of their territories was probably more than that of any other contemporary Hindu dynasty of northern India. The Paramāra power lasted for 500 years. Very few Hindu dynasties have ruled in their full glory for so long a period ; even the imperial Guptas and the Pratīhāras collapsed in less than four centuries.

Never had Malwa enjoyed a higher level of political and cultural prestige than it did under the Paramāras ; and the greatness that it attained during this period will always be remembered

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in the annals of the Hindu civilization. It goes to the credit of the strong arm of the Paramāras that Malwa enjoyed peace and prosperity associated with enthusiastic pursuit of learning, literature and art even when many parts of northern India were bleeding under the heels of its Muslim invaders. While the soldiers of Islam were carrying fire and sword against all the scattered principalities of northern India, Malwa lived in peace and prosperity, undaunted by the new menace, and held out as the last great stronghold of the ancient Hindu civilization.

But for the Paramāras who acted as a bulwark against the invading Muslim forces, Malwa and with it the route that linked northern India with the Deccan, would probably have passed into the hands of the Delhi Sultans much earlier than the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. They did not let the Muslims take the easy route to the Deccan through Malwa and successfully resisted the Muslim onslaughts for about 300 years.

Their aggressive wars on all the fronts were also not without purpose. They reveal the age-old urge for political unity. By bringing in large chunks of land under their control, the Paramāras gave law and order, peace and prosperity to the people. The unity thus achieved, however, was rather of a loose character and constant fighting had to be carried on to keep recalcitrant feudatories under control, which resulted in the unnecessary frittering away of the energies of the state.

The Paramāras took pride in the fact that their subjects were taxed low ; their administrative machinery worked smoothly through various agencies, official and non-official. The monarch, the ministers, the *tantrapālas*, *balādhikṛtas*, *daṇḍanāyakas* and the *dharmāstheyas* had important part to play, but so were also the *mahattaras*, the *pañchakulas*, and various guilds who were closer to people than the official element. There was no democratic government ; but the Paramāra subjects can be said to have enjoyed a substantial amount of self-government, as the local bodies had an effective voice in the management of their affairs.

In the religious and moral sphere, the Paramāras typified the best in their dominions and left behind themselves a great tradition of religious tolerance. Hinduism and Jainism flour-

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ished side by side in peace and harmony and Jaina scholars received as much recognition at the courts of the Paramāra rulers as Brāhmaṇas. The remains of the temples indicate the vigour of the religious movements which sustained the life of the people. Viṣṇu was the ideal god. Bhoja was *Tribhuvanan-ārāyaṇa* and Naravarman called himself *Nirvāṇanārāyaṇa* or *Nirbhayanārāyaṇa*. But the worship of Śiva and Śakti exercised the most active influence, and of the temples of the period which survive today, most of them are dedicated to Śiva. Dhārā, Mandu, Jalor, Abu and Vāgaḍa were the strongholds of the Jainas during this period and there were Jaina *vihāras* all over the Paramāra dominions.

In social sphere our age was a period of transition. Inter-caste dinners, and marriages started disappearing from the Hindu society, the fundamental values of the Dharmaśāstras were readjusted not to keep up the dynamic character of Hindu society but 'to provide defensive ramparts in order to present a solid front to an aggressive alien culture and religion'. The outward form gained more importance than inner faith and the dynamic outlook. *Chāturvarṇya*, as envisaged by the Dharmaśāstra texts, was the ideal pattern to confirm. The Dharmaśāstra digests, which were universally accepted as authoritative, helped to conserve the social structure and the pattern of conduct in all human relations. Castes and sub-castes multiplied. It is probable that our age believed these changes to be good, but the subsequent history of the society has shown that they weakened its unity and cohesion. In this the work done by Bhoja and his *Paṇḍitas* appears to have merely strengthened the prevailing tendency.

Men and women dressed simply but put on costly ornaments. Fairs, festivals and feasts were held everywhere. Dance, drama and music were popular. Large temples, built by the kings or the pious rich, were the community centres, where the humbler folks gathered to receive instruction in subjects spiritual and secular, held their fairs and festivals and witnessed dramatic performances.

The evil of Purdah, perhaps, had not yet descended upon the society during this period. The position of women, however, seems to have deteriorated. Early marriages, which were in vogue and recommended by the *Nītikāras*, effected female education adversely.

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The country ruled over by the Paramāras was economically strong and prosperous enough to sustain the aggressive foreign policy of the rulers and the cultural activity of the period. The soil of Malwa was fertile, its people hard-working and well behaved. Agriculture yielded bountiful harvests ; several industries flourished ; trade and commerce were brisk and profitable. In general the masses in the country lived simply but well, drawing sustenance from a rich soil ; the middle classes lived in comfort and the upper classes in wealth, plenty and pomp. And the poor people, even though we do not have much information about them, probably were not worse off than their counterparts in other parts of India.

The cultural well-being of the subjects can be judged, to some extent, from our account of education, literature and the fine arts, all of which received royal patronage in a liberal measure. Religious and educational establishments were richly endowed by the rulers and the rich people. The greatest contribution of the Paramāras seems to have been in the field of culture. It is because of their vast contribution to learning that the name of Malwa will ever be remembered. Credit for this to a large extent goes to Bhoja the Great. But he was neither the first nor the last Paramāra monarch to follow this enlightened policy. His predecessor Vākpati II was the real initiator of the cultural traditions of Malwa, and the example set by Muñja and Bhoja was followed by Udayāditya, Naravarman, Jagaddeva and Devapāla, to name only a few well-known princes. Among the Paramāras of Abu, Dhārāvarṣa and Prahlādana were the most celebrated, the latter having even earned the title of 'the son of Sarasvatī'. Quite a few of the Paramāra princes were endowed with poetic talent themselves and were great patrons of the poets and *Paṇḍitas*. The names of Muñja and Bhoja have become a legend and a number of *gāthās* have been woven round their names in the folk tales, current in various parts of India ; and like a Vikrama cycle we have also a Bhoja cycle of stories. But while saying this we have also to note the limitations. The literature of the period lacked originality. The general stress was more on systematization and standardization rather than creative writing. Pure sciences like Astronomy and Mathematics were neglected. In this respect the Paramāra rulers did not rise above their times.

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Our age was glorious in the sphere of temple building activity in Malwa and Abu. Though the best examples of Paramāra architecture have disappeared, the remnants of Bhojapura lake, the Bhojaśālā of Dhārā, the ruined city of Udaipur with its Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple, the group of Un and Nimar temples still testify to the greatness of the Paramāras as builders and bear eloquent testimony to the faith of the people which nourished such an art. In the field of sculpture there are few images that can be ranked as superior in artistic excellence to the Sarasvatī of Bhoja.

The above lines are perhaps enough to enable the reader to make a general assessment of the Paramāra contribution to our political history and cultural progress. Following almost an instinctive urge towards political unity, the Paramāras had, like some other Rajput clans, fought to bring the country under their undisputed sway. But under the conditions prevalent, when India was divided into kingdoms—almost equally balanced in power and ruled by almost equally ambitious rulers—such a policy could neither be implemented wholly nor could it be successful for long. A confederation would have been more suitable for the needs of the country. But the idea appears to have appealed neither to the Paramāras nor to their contemporaries. There were loose alliances, entered into with specific objectives which, as often as not, ended even before the objective was achieved.

In the face of the Muslim danger, specially, unity was necessary. Bhoja brought it about temporarily when he marched out with his allies against Mahmūd of Ghaznī. But the idea never received a permanent shape, with the result that when the Muslims appeared again on the scene there was neither any anti-Muslim confederated army nor a Bhoja to lead them.

Like other Rajput clans the Paramāras failed also to evolve an efficient military organisation. Bhoja relied largely on his *bhṛtyas*, probably a well paid regular army, but his successors went back to the idea of a *maula* army, an army manned by hereditary military officers and their descendants. Bhoja's political acumen had made him come to an excellent idea which, however, was not followed up by his successors.

The Paramāras, as we have seen, left a rich cultural legacy of which any people can be proud. And here again Bhoja's

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name stands out pre-eminently, though his successors also had much to contribute. Bhoja is the first great digest writer of medieval India. The days of constructive thinking were coming to the end. But the harvest had to be garnered, if it was to be of any use to posterity. This is the work that the polymath Bhoja accomplished ; and his great work inspired similar work at other courts and the name of *Dhāreśvara* was quoted with respect by writers on literature, philosophy, architecture and other fine arts.

Of course, the Paramāra contribution would have been even more valuable, if they had made their kingdom move on more progressive lines, discarding customs and institutions that had lost their utility and vigour and strengthening those features which promoted greater cohesion, social as well as political. But to do all this the Paramāras probably had to be the products of a different age !

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APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY PARAMĀRAS

PROCEEDING FROM one fixed point in the chronology of the Paramāras of Malwa *viz*, the date V.S. 1005=948 A.D. for Sīyaka II supplied by the Harsola grants,[1] it is possible to fix the approximate dates of his predecessors by counting backwards and by establishing some possible synchronisms with the then ruling princes.

Padmagupta, who is one of the earliest and most reliable authorities on the history of the Paramāras, tells us that between Upendra and Vākpati I, there were other kings.[2] As we have seen above these 'other kings' were certainly not less than three in number for the term *narendra* is used in plural number.[3] Of course it is not to be supposed that there is any degree of certainty in this statement, as the number of the kings omitted by Padmagupta may be much greater. But it is the least that is possible.

According to the Udaipur *praśasti* the following is the genealogy of the Paramāras from Upendra to Vākpati II[4] :

Upendra
|
Vairisiṁha I
|
Śīyaka I
|
Vākpati I
|
Vairisiṁha II
|
Sīyaka II
|
Vākpati II

[1] *EI*, XIX, pp. 236-43.
[2] *NC*, XI, v. 80.
[3] See above, p. 34.
[4] *EI*, I, pp. 233-34.

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But as the names of three rulers *i.e.* Vairisiṁha, Sīyaka and Vākpati are repeated in the very same order, some scholars[1] think that it was done 'perhaps to give an ancient character to the Paramāra genealogy'. But with Padmagupta's corroborating statement before us, we cannot say that the account of the Udaipur *praśasti* is incorrect. Instead of adding names in the list, as supposed by some scholars, it has, if we rely on the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, left out the name of one ruler at least. According to it there were only two rulers between Upendra and Vākpati I, but as pointed out above, the number of the intervening rulers was certainly not less than three. Nor should we deem it absurd that Vairisiṁha I, Sīyaka I and Vākpati I were followed by another set of kings bearing similar names and in a similar order, for even in the inscriptions of the Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapurī, same sort of repetition is noticed.[2]

Another difficulty, however, comes up when we try to reconcile the genealogy as given in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* and the one given in the Udaipur *praśasti* with that found in the land-grants of Vākpati Muñja. According to the latter the early Paramāra genealogy stands thus :

Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Kṛṣṇadeva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Vairisiṁhadeva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Sīyakadeva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Amoghavarṣadeva-kuśalī //

This Kṛṣṇarāja has been identified by some scholars with Kṛṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family at whose feet the feudatory Vairisiṁha may have meditated.[4] But the fact that the Paramāra-Raṣṭrakūṭa relations had become very hostile, especially by the end of Sīyaka II's reign[5] would have naturally made the Paramāras not very much inclined to mention the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as the overlords of their ancestors. Moreover we cannot regard Kṛṣṇa II as the feudal overlord of Vairisiṁha II because the word *pādānudhyāta* could not have been given two different meanings in two adjoining compound words, in the one, the meaning of a son and in the other that of a feudatory.

1 C.V. Vaidya, D.B. Diskalkar, A.S. Altekar and K.A.N. Sastri.
2 *GHP*, p. 30, fn. 3.
3 *IA*, VI, p. 58 ; *IA*, XIV, p. 160.
4 *Ibid.*
5 *Vide ante* Chap. IV.

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Nor can we, as we have seen above, maintain that Kṛṣṇarāja was another name of Upendra.[1] As the immediate predecessor Vairisiṁha II was Vākpati I, this Kṛṣṇarāja cannot naturally be identified with the unnamed ruler whose reign intervened between that of Upendra and Vākpati I.

The only alternative left with us is to identify Kṛṣṇarāja with Vākpati I, even though no other record gives Kṛṣṇa as Vākpati I's name. Proceeding on the basis of the rule that things equal to the same thing are equal to one another and presuming that the word *pādānudhyāta* of Muñja's land-grants, implies succession, we have no option left than to conclude that Kṛṣṇarāja meditated on by Vairisiṁha, meditated on by Sīyaka, meditated on by Amoghavarṣa, is none other than Vākpati I of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* and the Udaipur *praśasti*. Kṛṣṇarāja may have been his actual name and Vākpati a title secured as a result of his intellectual calibre.

We have 948 A.D. as the earliest known date[2] for Sīyaka II. He may have come to the throne a little earlier say about 945 A.D. or so. If we begin counting backwards from this point by reckoning twenty five years for each generation, the following would be the chronology of the early Paramāras :

Upendra : *c.* 791-818 A.D.
|
Vairisiṁha I : *c.* 818-843 A.D.
|
Sīyaka I : *c.* 843-868 A.D.
|
unnamed ruler : *c.* 868-893 A.D.
|
Kṛṣṇarāja *alias* Vākpati I : *c.* 893-918 A.D.
|
Vairisiṁha II or Vajraṭa : *c.* 918-945 A.D.
|
Sīyaka II : 945-972 A.D.
|
Vākpati II : 973-994 A.D.

[1] *Vide ante* Chap IV. [2] *EI*, XIX, pp. 236-43.

A. PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA

Upendra (same as Upendra of Malwa)

1. Ḍaṁbarasiṁha
2. Dhanika
3. Chacha
4. Kaṁkadeva
5. Chaṇḍapa
6. Satyarāja

7. Limbarāja

8. Maṇḍalīka
9. Chāmuṇḍarāja
10. Vijayarāja

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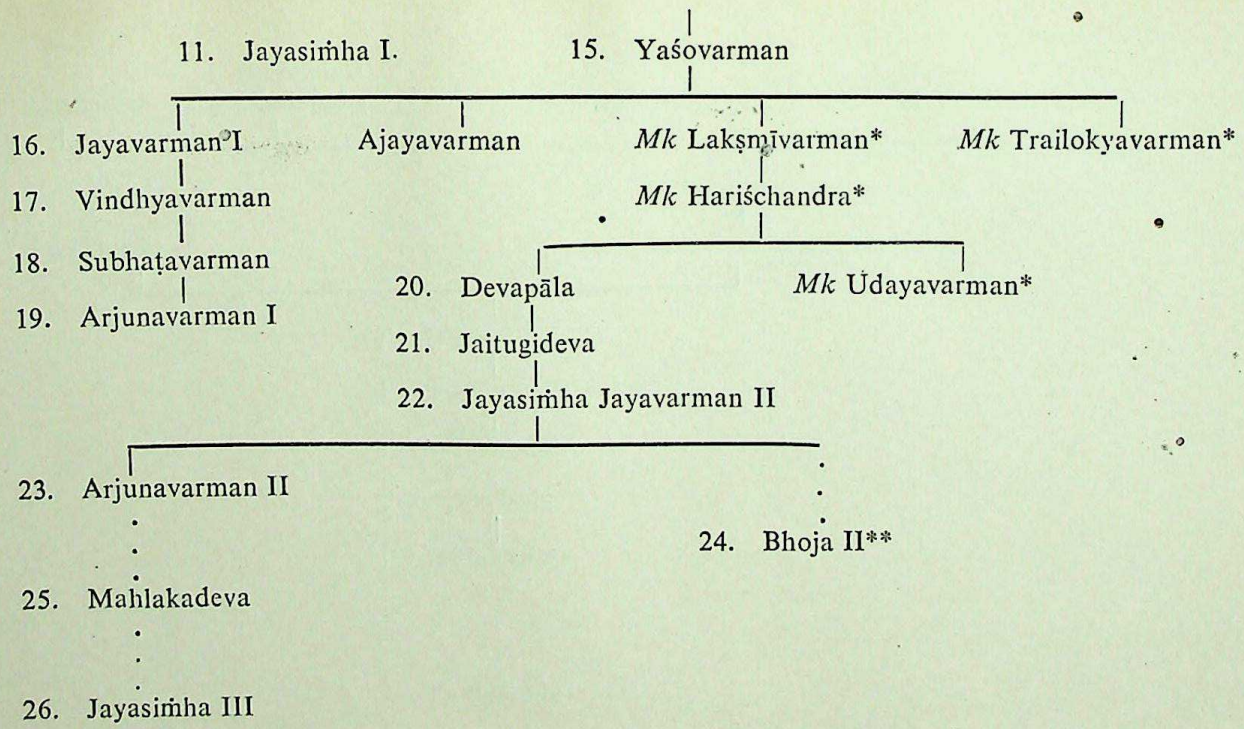
B. PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA

1. Upendra
   - 2. Vairisiṁha I
     - 3. Sīyaka I
       - 4. Unnamed ruler
         - 5. Kṛṣṇarāja *alias* Vākpati I
           - 6. Vairisiṁha II *alias* Vajaraṭsvāṁi
             - 7. Sīyaka II (Harṣa)
               - 8. Vākpati II (Muñja)
               - 9. Sindhurāja
                 - 10. Bhoja I
                 - 12. Udayāditya
                   - 13. Lakṣmadeva
                   - 14. Naravarman
                   - Jagaddeva
   - Dambarasiṁha (founder of Vāgaḍa branch of the Paramāras)



*The *Mahākumāra line* of the Paramāras.
**Arjunavarman II and Bhoja II ruled as contemporaries in two different parts of Malwa.

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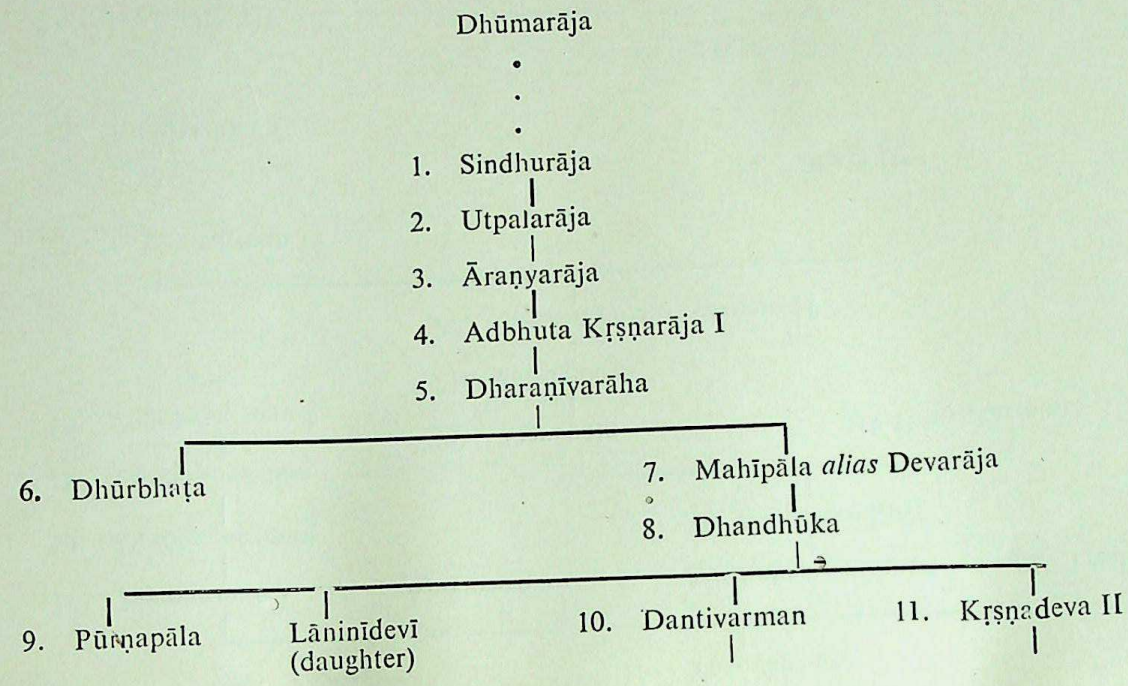
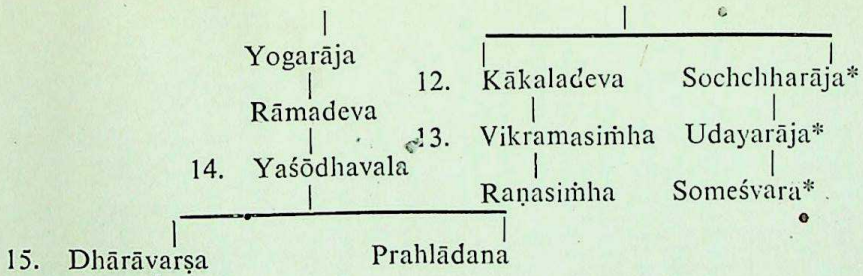
C. PARAMĀRAS OF ABU AND BHINMĀL OR KIRĀḌŪ





*Paramāra chiefs of Kirāḍu.

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D. PARAMĀRAS OF JALOR

1. Vākpatirāja
2. Chandana
3. Devarāja
4. Aparājita
5. Vijjala
6. Dhārāvarṣa
7. Vīśala

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APPENDIX III

A SHORT NOTE ON THE KANARESE WORK GADĀYUDDHA OF *KAVI* RANNA

(i)

The *Gadāyuddha* is a *champu*, which in its ten *āśvāsas* contrives to review the story of the *Mahābhārata* with particular reference to the last fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana, as well as the wars of Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya on whom the poet confers the title *Sāhasa-bhīma*. It has proved difficult to fix the date of the composition of this work for the stanza which could have settled the point is very corrupt and ambiguous. It reads as follows :

Śaka-sama-gali ṛtu yugā śaśi l
Nikarāṅkama chtirabhānu . . . Kā . . .
(Kārttika) sita saptamī . . . l sukaram
Budhasevyam jayatu Rannaṇa kāvyam ll

Taking *chitrabhānu* as the name of the year Shri Narasimhachari has fixed the date of the *Gadāyuddha* as 982 A.D.[1] which falls in Tailapa II's reign (973-997 A.D.).

The internal evidence of the *Gadāyuddha* however indicates that it was written when Satyāśraya Chālukya, the son of Tailapa II, was ruling the country as a *Sārvabhauma* king, that is sometime after 998 A.D. Satyāśraya is referred to as *Sārvabhauma*, *Chakravartī*, *Chakreśa*, *Pṛthvīvallabha*, *Chālukya-kaṇṭhīvaram*, *Chālukya-nārāyaṇa*, *Sāhasa-bhīma*, *Chālukya-kaṅdarpa*, *Sāhasāṅka* and *Rājita-rāja-chinha-yuta* etc. throughout the *Gadāyuddha*.[2]

But with regard to the value of these epithets scholars differ among themselves. Prof. K.V. Raghavachari of Delhi University for instance is of the opinion that the internal evidence would not help us very much in solving the problem of date, for many a time it is a case of wish being father

[1] *Karnāṭaka Kavi Charite*, I, p. 71.

[2] *Gadāyuddha*, I, v. 6, 10, 28, 31, 32 ; *ibid.* : III, v. 1 ; *ibid.*, VI, v. 1 ; *ibid.*, VII, opening and closing stanzas ; *ibid.*, VIII, opening and closing stanzas.

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of thought. Others point out that though the father, Tailapa II was on the throne, he was so old that the rising Satyāśraya was referred to by *kavi* Ranna as emperor even during his father's lifetime. Others feel that the *Gadāyuddha* was composed during the reign of Tailapa II but the stanzas referring to Satyāśraya were suitably altered after Satyāśraya had actually ascended the throne.

A review of Satyāśraya's titles used by the *Gadāyuddha* has led us to think that the *Gadāyuddha* was composed during the reign of Satyāśraya who is described as the hero of the story.[1] V. 38 of the *āśvāsa* nine says that both Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī resorted with the *Chālukya-kaṇḍarpa* (*i.e.* Satyāśraya), who is described as *Jayalakṣmīpati*, *Dhārāpraṇayī*, *Paṇḍitāśraya*, *Arthapriya*, *Prākrama-kṛtālaṁkāra*, *Satyavādī*, *Nirdveśī*, and *Rājita-rāja-chinha-yuta*. Satyāśraya is addressed with imperial titles throughout by Ranna and is nowhere mentioned as a *yuvarāja* in the *Gadāyuddha*. The poet's description of himself as *Śrīmad-Āhavamalla-deva-śrīpāda-kalpa-pādapāśrayāsanavartī* at the end of every *āśvāsa*, and his description in the closing stanza of the *Gadāyuddha* that he composed this work under the patronage of Āhavamalladeva,[2] should not lead one to conclude that the poet was patronised by Tailapa II Āhavamalla, for Āhavamalla was the title of Satyāśraya also and is used for him in his inscriptions.

(ii)

From references in the *Gadāyuddha* to the defeat of Aparājita, the Silāhāra prince of Koṅkaṇa, it is clear that Satyāśraya was a *Sārvabhauma* ruler at the time of that conflict.[3]

[1] *Āśvāsa*, I, v. 31.

[2] समस्तभुवनवल्लभजनाश्रयम् श्री पृथ्वीवल्लभम् महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरम्
परमभट्टारक श्रीसत्याश्रयकुल-तिलकम श्रीमदाहवमल्लदेव
श्रीपाद कल्पपादपाश्रयासनवर्ती कवि चक्रवर्ती कविरन्न विरचित ।

[3] मुनिदिर्पत्तोंदु सूल क्षत्रियरनरसि कोंदिकिदारामनिंदि-
त्त नरेन्द्र पोक्करिलोर्बरुमिवनाधिकं पोक्कनें दापवण्ब
पिनमिर्पत्तोंदनित्तं करिगलनपरादित्यनंतीयदंदा
तनंनिपत्तोंदुवंशं किडे मुलिदनो सत्याश्रयं सार्वभौमं ॥

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But when *v.* 47 of the *aśvāsa* II says that Satyāśraya defeated *Koṅkaṇeśvara* at the behest of his father,[1] it may be taken as a reference to an earlier defeat of the *Koṅkaṇeśvara*. If this suggestion be accepted it would mean that Satyāśraya led two expeditions against Koṅkaṇa, first in the time of his father and the second when he was ruling the country in his own right.[2]

APPENDIX IV

A NOTE ON JAGADDEVA PARAMĀRA

Jagaddeva Paramāra whose name does not occur in the genealogy of the Paramāras is the hero of many a bardic tale. According to the *Rāsa Mālā*, Udayāditya had two queens, one of the Solaṅkī and the other of the Vaghela clan. Influenced by the latter, who was his favourite queen, Udayāditya made her son Rindhuwal his heir-apparent even though by right the position should have gone to Jagaddeva, the son of the Solaṅkī queen. Annoyed by this behaviour Jagaddeva left Malwa and took service with Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of Gujarat, whom he served loyally for a number of years. Once Jayasiṁha made preparations to attack Malwa. Jagaddeva resigned from his service, returned to Dhārā and defended it successfully against the Gujarātīs. Sometime after this Udayāditya died and Jagaddeva ascended the throne of Malwa and then he ruled for fifty-two years.[3]

The story as given above cannot be regarded as wholly accurate, even though there are elements of truth in it. Jagaddeva appears to have actually left Malwa and taken

1 *Cf.* नरपति तैलपम वैससे गुर्जरसेवयो सूचियानेयम् ।
परियिसि गेदुदनोट्टजेय कष्ट मनुट्टु बुदेन्दु कोंकणे-
श्वरनिर्दिचि साधिसिद नंबुधिसीमेवरम् निर्मिचिदम्
धरेयनदेके केसुदरीय साहसभीमम् साहसंगकम् ।
(when king Tailapa (II) commanded, he (Satyāśraya) pierced the Gurjara army and drove it away and attacked the *Koṅkaṇeśvara*, took tribute from him and extended his kingdoms up to the seas.

2 *Vide ante* Chap. V.

3 Forbes, *Rāsa Mālā*, pp. 117 ff.

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service with a non-Paramāra prince. According to Merutuṅga Jagaddeva though honoured by Siddha (*i.e.* Siddharāja Jayasiṁha of Gujarat) wâs earnestly invited by the glorious king Paramardin and so he went to the Kuntala country.[1] This Paramardin was Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇī who was not on good terms with Udayāditya who had superseded the Kuntala protege, Jayasiṁha Paramāra.[2] But we do not hear of any brother of Jagaddeva with the name or *birūḍa* of Rindhuwal. Neither is it feasible to believe that Jagaddeva left his father's court during latter's lifetime and took service with Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, for Udayāditya died long before Jayasiṁha Siddharāja ascended the Chaulukya throne.[3] Nor is it correct to think that Jagaddeva occupied the throne of Malwa after the death of Udayāditya and ruled there for fifty-two years.[4]

The Doṅgargāon inscription gives a vivid account about the early life of Jagaddeva. It says that though Udayāditya had several sons he longed to have one more who would be after his own heart. He therefore prayed to Śiva and by the god's favour obtained the son Jagaddeva. After Udayāditya's death the royal fortune offered herself to Jagaddeva but he renounced her in favour of his elder brother, being apprehensive of incurring the sin of *parvitti* (*i.e.* marrying before an elder brother marries).[5]

From this inscription it seems that Jagaddeva was the youngest son of Udayāditya and though he could have easily ascended the throne of Malwa, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother. As evidenced by other sources Udayāditya did have other sons besides Jagaddeva *i.e.* Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman who succeeded him one after the other. Jagaddeva perhaps stayed in Malwa during the reign of Lakṣmadeva with

1 *Pc*, p. 186.

2 *Vide ante* Chap. VII.

3 Jayasiṁha Siddharāja ascended the throne in 1094 A.D. and Udayāditya closed his reign in 1086 A.D.

4 As seen above Udayāditya who closed his reign about 1086 A.D. was succeeded by his son Lakṣmadeva and he by his younger brother Naravarman in 1094 A.D. There is therefore no possibility of Jagaddeva having ruled over Malwa for 52 years after the death of Udayāditya.

5 *EI*, XXVI, p. 183, vv. 7-8.

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whom he seems to have been on good terms but he had to leave Malwa after the accession of Naravarman.[1] Jagaddeva seems to have stayed with Jayasiṁhā Siddharāja for some time but then proceeded to the court of the *Kuntalendra* who, according to verse ninth of the Doṅgargāon inscription, treated Jagaddeva with affection.[2] He is said to have addressed him as the first among his sons, the lord of his kingdom, his right arm, nay his very self.[3] Vikramāditya VI (1076-1125 A.D.) appointed Jagaddeva to govern the country to the north of the river Godavari which he had earlier wrested from the Paramāras[4]. The Doṅgargāon inscription of Jagaddeva has been found at Doṅgargāon in the Yeotmal district of Berar and his Jainād[5] inscription in the Adilabad district of the Nizam's dominions.[6]

The Jainād inscription credits Jagaddeva with a number of military achievements *i.e.* the conquest of Āndhra, defeat of the king of Chakradurga, entry into the city of Dorasamudra, defeat of Jayasiṁha near Abu and the defeat of Karṇa[7]. From other sources we know that the first three were also some of the

[1] That Jagaddeva left his mother-land after the death of Lakṣmadeva is proved by the fact that Jayasiṁha Siddharāja to whose court Jagaddeva is said to have gone first, ascended the throne in 1094 A.D. and Lakṣmadeva died somewhere about that time only. Perhaps the treatment of Naravarman towards Jagaddeva was not good which compelled the latter to leave his own native land and seek refuge first in Gujarat and then in the Kuntaladeśa.

[2] *EI*, XXVI, p. 183.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] The Paramāras lost some territory to the east of river Wardhā, which they had held ever since the time of Sindhurāja who is credited with a victory over the king of Ratnāvatī (*vide ante* Chap. V), during the Chālukyan raids after the death of Bhojadeva I (*vide ante* Chap. VI). They however soon reconquered this area as is clear from the Nagpur inscription of the time of king Naravarman. This inscription is said to have been originally discovered from somewhere in Chanda district. With the disintegration of the Paramāra kingdom which began during the time of Naravarman (*vide ante* Chap. VII), the Paramāras seem to have lost this territory once again to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī. It was this territory which was assigned to Jagaddeva Paramāra by the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI.

[5] Jainād is only 65 miles east of Doṅgargāon.

[6] *EI*, XXVI, pp. 177-85 ; *EI*, XXII, pp. 54-63.

[7] *EI*, XXII, pp. 61-62.

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prominent achievements of Vikramāditya VI.[1] It seems reasonable to conclude that Jagaddeva won these victories in the cause of and as the general of his patron the Kuntala monarch.

V. 9 of the Jainād inscription mentions Jagaddeva's victory in Dorasamudra as, 'in every house the weeping widows of his (*i.e.* Jagaddeva's enemies) having seen in Dorasamudra the peak-like heaps of the skulls of their lords who came in contact with the painted club-like tusks of his best elephants, increase with tears the acute pain in the heart of the chief of Malahāra'. The Hoysaḷa inscriptions on the contrary mention the defeat of Jagaddeva's army and that of Vikramāditya VI's. The Śrāvaṇa Belgola inscription of 1159 A.D. states that Viṣṇu *i.e.* Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa 'powerful like Yama striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Malwa king ; Jagaddeva and others sent by the emperor (*i.e.* Vikramāditya VI)'.[2] A still earlier inscription, the Belur Taluq inscription of 1117 A.D., mentions the same fact. It says 'in Dorasamudra they (*i.e.* Viṣṇuvardhana and Ballāḷa Hoysaḷa) defeated the army of Jagaddeva, painted the goddess of victory with the blood of his elephants for vermillion and captured his treasury along with the central ornament of his necklace'.[3] As we proceed further down the course of history poetic description increases and facts get a bit distorted. In the Terikere Taluq inscription Jagaddeva becomes the emperor of Malwa, he is no longer a Karṇāṭa general sent by the Kuntalendra. The inscription says, "Ballāḷa drove back in battle, the force which came to attack him, so that even the Malwa emperor Jagaddeva whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Well done, horseman', to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vīra Ballāḷa', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world".[4]

The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* states that Jagaddeva defeated one *Sīmālabhūpāla* or *Sīmāntabhūpāla* who seems to be none other than the king of the Hoysaḷas who ruled on the frontiers of Jagaddeva's territories. One *Malahārakṣoṇīśa* is said to have been defeated by Jagaddeva according to the Jainād inscription.[5]

1 *YEHD*, pp. 354-370.
2 *EC*, II, Inscriptions at Śrāvaṇabelgola, no. 348.
3 *EC*, V, Bl, no. 58, HN, no. 116. 4 *EC*, VI, Terikere Taluq, no. 45.
5 *EI*, XXII, p. 60. v. 9.

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According to N.P. Chakravarty *Malahārakṣonīśa* seems to be a translation of the Kanarese epithet *Malaparoḷ-gaṇḍa*, a title assumed by the Hoysaḷa rulers.[1] *Malapa* or *Malaha* was the name of a hill-tribe, to the family of whose chiefs the Hoysaḷas probably originally belonged.[2]

According to J.D.M. Derrett the invasion of Jagaddeva took place in or about 1093 A.D.[3] The earliest dated reference to this conflict is in 1117 A.D.[4] Jagaddeva left his native land first for the Chaulukyan court when Siddharāja was on the throne that is sometime after 1094 A.D. and then for Kuntaladeśa. His attack on Dorasamudra which he undertook as an ally of Kuntaleśa must therefore be placed between 1094-1117 A.D.

In the beginning Jagaddeva seems to have suffered a few reverses at the hands of the Hoysaḷas but in the long run he was successful against them. The fact that Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa continued to use the subordinate epithet of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* up to the end of his life proves that though he made various attempts[5] he could not free himself from the yoke of the Chāḷukya emperor. Credit for this goes to the *Trividhivīra* Jagaddeva who 'caused pain to the *Malahārakṣonīśa*.[6]

Jagaddeva is also credited with the conquest of Chakradurga or Sakkrakoṭa and the Āndhra country. Chakradurga is Chakrakoṭa of Bastar and it was the capital of the Nāgas.[7] When and how Jagaddeva attacked this place is difficult to say. Perhaps the chief of the Nāgas who was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI rebelled against the authority of his over-lord,[8] and Jagaddeva being a loyal servant of his master would have been sent to suppress the revolt. Jagaddeva defeated the ruler of Chakradurga who had to give a number of elephants to the

1 *EI*, XXII, p. 58, fn. 5.
2 *Ibid.*; *EC*, VI, Intro., p. 14.
3 Derrett, J.D.M., *op. cit.*, p. 36.
4 See p. 374. fn. 3.
5 Derrett, J.D.M., *op. cit.*, p. 60.
6 *EI*, XXII, p. 60, v. 9.
7 *Vch*, canto, VI.
8 Vikramāditya had defeated the king of Chakradurga sometime before 1076 A.D. See D. Sharma's paper in *Rājasthān Bhāratī* Vol. 4. no. 4, p. 46.

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former by way of indemnity. The country of Āndhra lay between the rivers Godavari and Krishna,[1] with its capital at Veṅgi and was being ruled over at that time by Kuḷatuṅga Choḷa. The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the Choḷas were long standing enemies. In his life time Vikramāditya VI made a number of raids on Veṅgi and ultimately he was successful in occupying Veṅgi by 1118 A.D. Jagaddeva might have been his general in one of his campaigns and hence the claim of the Jainād inscription that Jagaddeva defeated the king of Āndhradeśa.

Bardic accounts state that Jagaddeva returned to Malwa to beat back an attack of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. This statement seems to be confirmed by the Jainād inscription which says, 'even now the flood-tide of the tears of the wives of the Gurjara heroes manifests day and night the twang of the bow of Jagaddeva, as if it were the thundering of the clouds for that Vedic recitation, the recounting of the tales of Jayasiṁha's valour'.[2] D.C. Ganguly thinks that Jayasiṁha of the Jainād inscription is Jayasiṁha Paramāra, the successor of Bhoja.[3] But as pointed out by N.P. Chakravarty Jayasiṁha of the Jainād inscription should be looked upon as an enemy and not as a friend of Jagaddeva.[4] Jayasiṁha who was the enemy of Jagaddeva was Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. As seen above Naravarman Paramāra was attacked by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and Arṇorāja of Śākambharī.[5] Jagaddeva though ruling in his own right somewhere near Jainād perhaps thought it was his duty to return to Malwa to save it from the Gurjara and Chauhān forces. But Jagaddeva could avert this danger only temporarily for after the death of Naravarman Malwa was conquered by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and its ruler Yaśovarman was put in prison.[6]

V. 12 of the Jainād inscription refers to Jagaddeva's victory over Karṇa. This Karṇa was most probably Yaṣaḥ Karṇa

[1] Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 140.
[2] *EI*, XXII, p. 60, v. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[4] *Ibid.*, fn. 8.
[5] *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
[6] *Ibid.*

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whom Jagaddeva defeated in the capacity of a general of his elder brother Lakṣmadeva before he left Malwa.[1]

Jagaddeva never became the ruler of Malwa. We cannot identify him as has been done by D.C. Ganguly with Lakṣmadeva[2] who died before Jayasiṁha Siddharāja ascended the throne of Gujarat. The Nagpur *praśasti* which was written in his honour does not mention the places that we know to have been conquered by Jagaddeva. Nor can Jagaddeva be the cousin or younger brother of Jayasiṁha Paramāra.[3]

According to the Doṅgargāon inscription Jagaddeva granted the village Doṅgargrāma to a Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa (v. 12) and the latter erected there a temple which he dedicated to Śiva for the religious merit of his father Śrīnidhi. From the Jainād inscription we learn that Lolārka of the Dahima family was the minister of Jagaddeva and appears to have been enjoying that position since the time of Udayāditya (v. 13). According to some scholars Samalavarman who was the king of east Bengal married Mālavyadevī, the daughter of Jagaddeva Paramāra.[4]

The self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality of Jagaddeva made him far-famed. True is the description of the Doṅgargāon inscription when it says that 'there is no country, village, community, or assembly, where Jagaddeva's fame is not sung day and night'.[5]

1 For a detailed discussion on this point see our Chap. VII.
2 *GHP*, p. 142.
3 *Vide ante* Chap. VII.
4 *EI*, XXII, p. 59 ; *JASB*, X, p. 127.
5 न स देशो न स ग्रामो न स लोको न सा सभा ।
न तन्नक्तंदिवं यत्र जगद्देवो न गीयते ॥२२॥
EI, XXVI, p. 184.

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APPENDIX V

PRAHLĀDANADEVA

Though Prahlādana was appointed a *yuvarāja* by Dhārāvarṣa as early as 1163 A.D., he never became king. He perhaps predeceased his elder brother.[1]

Prahlādana was a brave soldier and a skilful general.[2] He was greater still as a votary of the goddess of learning. He was a renowned poet and wrote a *vyāyoga* (a military spectacle) entitled *Pārthaparākrama* which was first staged at the court of Dhārāvarṣa on the occasion of the investiture of god Achaleśvara with the sacred thread.[3] Someśvara calls him as an incarnation of Sarasvatī[4] and as one who had become famous as her son.[5] Prahlādana is said to have made the goddess of learning, who was afflicted with sorrow on the death of Muñja and Bhoja, delighted again by dramatizing a beautiful story.[6] He is also described as the supporter of the six *darśanas* ; expert in all the five arts and the best among the *kumāras* (*yuvarājas*).[7]

Prahlādana was also famous for his philanthropic activity. Someśvara in his *Surāthotsava* says that the vow of doing good to others ended with the death of Prahlādana.[8] He is represented as an incarnation of the heavenly cow.

[1] Inscriptions refer to his activities only up to 1209 A.D. *IA*, XI, p. 222.

[2] He is described by Someśvara as one who attained fame for being the lord of the goddess of victory (*EI*, VIII, p. 211, v. 38). As seen above it was his sword that saved the waning glory of Chaulukya king Ajayapāla (*vide ante* Chap. XI).

[3] *Pārthaparākrama* (*GOS*, IV). Intro., p. iv.

[4] देवी सरोजासनसंभवा किं कामप्रदाकिं सुरसौरभेयी।
प्रह्लादनाकार धराधरायामा यातवत्येण न निश्चयो मे ॥ *EI*, VIII, p. 211.

[5] *KK*, I, p. 4, ll. 20-21.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] षडदर्शनावलंबनस्तंभ श्रीसकलकलाकोविद-
कुमारगुरुश्रीप्रह्लदनदेवयौवराज्ये ॥ *IA*, XI, p. 222.

[8] *Sarga* XV (*Kaviprasasti*), v. 52.

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Prahlādanadeva's name is associated with modern Pālanpur *i.e.* Prahlādanapur in Gujarat.[1] The earliest reference to this place is in the *praśasti* of *Atimuktacharita* of Pūrṇabhadra composed in 1226 A.D.[2] The *Somasaubhāgya* written at the end of the 15th century praises Prahlādana for his architectural works.[3]

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF *TĪRTHAS*

Referred to in the Avantikhaṇḍa and Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa.

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6.	Markaṭeśvaratīrtha	13	75
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13.	Vālamīkeśvaratīrtha	27, 28	106, 107
14.	Śukreśvaratīrtha	,,	,,
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16.	Kameśvaratīrtha	,,	,,
17.	Chaṇḍeśvara	,,	,,
18.	Aṅkapādanatīrtha	33	133
19.	Chandrādityatīrtha	34	134
20.	Kareśvaratīrtha	35	135
21.	Kusumeśvara Jyeśvaraliṅga	37	139

1 *Upadeśataraṅgiṇī*, *GOS*, IV, App. III.
2 *Ibid.*, Intro., p. V.
3 *Ibid.*, p. iv.

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No.	Name of *tīrtha*	Chapter	Page No.
22.	Someśvaraliṅga	38	145
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26.	Saubhagyeśvaratīrtha	42	170
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29.	Abhayeśvaraliṅga	48	208
31.	Kaṇṭakeśvaratīrtha	,,	,,
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32.	Agastyeśvaraliṅga	47	196
33.	Amarāvatī	56	243
34.	Gayātīrtha (on Phalgu river in Avantipura)	58	305
35.	Gomatīkuṇḍa	73	327
36.	Vāmanatīrtha	74	354
37.	Vāmanakuṇḍa	74	355
38.	Vīreśvaratīrtha (on the northern bank of Śiprā)	75	356
39.	Nāgatīrtha	75	359
40.	Bhairavatīrtha	,,	,,
41.	Kutameśatīrtha	77	366
42.	Nṛsiṁhatīrtha	77	366
43.	Khaṇḍeśvaratīrtha	78	368
44.	Karkarājatīrtha	81	388
45.	Devatīrtha	82	391
46.	Ghṛtyakulyatīrtha (on the western bank of Śiprā)	83	395
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4.	Mṛgatīrtha	116
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6.	Hāṭakeśa	149
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No.	Name of *tirtha*	Page no.
8.	Yayatīśa-śivaliṅga	223
9.	Chitreśvarapīṭha	225
10.	Maṅkaṇeśaliṅga	241
11.	Tripuṣkaratīrtha	264, 945
12.	Sarasvatītīrtha	269
13.	Mahākāla	276
14.	Naleśaliṅga	318
15.	Śṛamiṣṭhatīrtha	349
16.	Somanāthaliṅga	359
17.	Amṛteśvara	368
18.	Śūdreśvara	368
19.	Agnitīrtha	475
20.	Gomukhatīrtha	484
21.	Bhadrikātīrtha	624
22.	Revateśvara	628
23.	Kedāraśivaliṅga	656
24.	Śuklatīrtha	662
25.	Karṇotpālatīrtha	686
26.	Ajāgṛhatīrtha	726
27.	Śilākhaṇḍatīrtha	734
28.	Dīrghikātīrtha	747
29.	Amareśvara	797
30.	Chetikeśvara	808
31.	Apsarākuṇḍa and Rūpatīrtha	808
32.	Kaṅsārīśvara	922

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APPENDIX VII

VERSES ATTRIBUTED TO MUÑJA-VĀKPATI *ALIAS* UTPALARĀJA

चटच्चटिति चर्मणि च्छमिति चोच्छलच्छोणिते
धगद्धगिति मेदसि स्फुटरवास्थिनि ष्ठागिति ।
पुनातु भवतो हरेरमरवैरिवक्षः स्थल-
क्वणत्करजपञ्जरक्रकचकाषजन्मानलः ॥४०॥ वाक्पतिराजस्य ।

Sārṅgadharapaddhati, I, p. 20.

उत्तंसकौतुकरसेन विलासिनीनां
लूनानि यस्य न नखैरपि पल्लवानि ।
उद्यानमण्डनतरो सहकार स त्व-
मङ्गारकारकरगोचरतां गतोसि ॥३१॥ उत्पलराजस्य ।

Ibid., p. 113.

किं किं सिंहस्ततः किं नरसदृशवपुर्देव चित्रं ग्रहीतो
नैवाद्यपि प्रचण्डो द्रुतमुपनयतायं ननु प्राप्त एव ।
चापं चापं नखा [ग्रं] त्वरितमहहहा कर्कशत्वं नखाना-
मित्येवं दैत्यराजं निजनखकुलिशैर्जघ्निवान् यः स वोऽव्यात् ॥७६॥
चटिच्चटिति चर्मणि च्छमिति चोच्चलच्छोणिते
धगिद्धगिति मेदसि स्फुटरवेऽस्थिनि ष्ठादिति ।
पुनातु भवतो हरेरमरवैरिनाथोरसि
क्वणत्करजपञ्जरक्रकचकोपजन्मा रवः ॥७७॥ वाक्पतिनाथस्यैतौ ।

Suktimuktāvalī of Jalhaṇa, p. 29.

यातु चञ्चलशीलत्वाद्यत्र क्वचन मे मनः ।
सर्वव्यापिन् महादेव त्वां विहाय क्व यास्यति ॥२॥
यद्यहं स्तुतिपदे तवाक्षमः किं ततः कमलजोऽपि यत्तथा ।
मज्जतो जलनिधौ किमन्तरं मृत्कणस्य च कुलाचलस्य च ॥३॥
कण्ठकोणविनिविष्टमीश ते कालकूटमपि मे महामृतम् ।
अप्युपात्तममृतं भवद्वपुर्भेदवृत्ति यदि रोचते न मे ॥४॥ उत्पलदेवस्यैतौ ।

Ibid., p. 459.

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अहौ वा हारे वा कुसुमशयने वा दृषदि वा
मणौ वा लोष्टे वा बलवति रिपौ वा सुहृदि वा ।
तृणे वा स्त्रैणे वा मम समदृशो यान्ति दिवसाः
कदा पुण्यारण्ये शिव शिव शिवेति प्रलपतः ॥
घनोद्यानच्छायामिव मरुपथाद्दावदहना-
त्तुषाराम्भोवापिमिव विषविपाकादिव सुधाम् ।
प्रवृद्धादुन्मादात्प्रकृतिमिव निस्तीर्य विरहा-
ल्लभेयं त्वद्भक्तं निरुपमरसाँ शंकर कदा ॥ श्रीहर्षदेवात्मजवाक्पतेः ।

Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, p. 559.

अहौ वा हारे वा बलवति रिपौ वा सुहृदि वा
मणौ वा लोष्टे वा कुसुमशयने वा दृषदि वा ।
तृणे वा स्त्रैणे वा मम समदृशो यान्ति दिवसाः
क्वचित्पुण्यारण्ये शिवशिव शिवेति प्रलपतः ॥

Auchityavichāracharchā of Kṣemendra, p. 131.

हृताञ्जनश्यामरुचस्तवैते स्थूलाः किमित्यश्रुकणाः पतन्ति ।
भृङ्गा इव व्यायतपंकत्यो ये तनीयसीं रोमलतां श्रयन्ति ॥

Suvṛtatilaka of Kṣemendra, p. 37.

मात्सर्यतीव्रतिमिरावृतदृष्टयो ये
ते कस्य नाम न खला व्यथयन्ति चेतः ।
मन्ये विमुच्य गलकन्दलमिन्दुमौले-
र्येषां सदा वचसि वल्गति कालकूटः ॥

Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa of Kṣemendra, p. 152.

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APPENDIX VIII

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRA DYNASTIES

S. No.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year		Reference
(a) PARAMĀRAS OF MALWA					
			V.S.	A.D.	
1.	Harsola CP grant	Sīyaka II	1005	949	*EI*, XIX, p. 236
2.	A CP grant from Ahmedabad	Sīyaka II	1026	969	*EI*, XIX, p. 177
3.	Ujjain CP grant	Vākpati II	1031	974	*IA*, VI, p. 51
4.	Ujjain CP grant	Vākpati II	1036	979	*IA*, XIV, p. 160
5.	Gaonri CP grant	Vākpati II	1038, 1043	981, 986	*EI*, XXIII, p. 108
6.	Moḍāsā CP grant	Bhoja I	1067	1011	*EI*, XXXIII, p. 192
7.	Mahuḍī CP grant	Bhoja I	1074	1018	*EI*, XXXIII, p. 215
8.	Bānswārā CP grant	Bhoja I	1076	1020	*EI*, XI, p. 182
9.	Betmā CP grant	Bhoja I	1076	1020	*EI*, XVIII, p. 320
10.	Ujjain CP grant	Bhoja I	1078	1021	*IA*, VI, p. 53
11.	Depālpur CP grant	Bhoja I	1079	1022	*IHQ*, VIII, p. 305
12.	Sarasvatī image (stone) inscription	Bhoja I	1091	1034	*Rūpam*, 1924, p. 2
13.	Ṭilakawādā CP grant	Bhoja I	1103	1046	*PTAIOC*, 1919, p. 319

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S. no.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
14.	Bhojapur stone inscription	Bhoja I	undated		*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1959-60, p. 57; *EI*, XXXV, p. 185
15.	Kalvan CP inscription of Yaśovarman	Bhoja I	undated		*EI*, XIX, p. 69
16.	Māndhātā CP inscription	Jayasiṁha I	1112	1055	*EI*, III, p. 46
17.	Udaipur stone inscription	Udayāditya	1137	1080	*IA*, XX, p. 83
18.	Devī Image (stone) inscription	Udayāditya	1138	1081	*ABORI*, IV, Pt. II, p. 100; *ABORI*, XXII, p. 99
19.	Jhālrāpātan stone inscription	Udayāditya	1143	1086	*JPASB*, 1914, (N.S.) p. 241
20.	Shergarh stone inscription	Udayāditya			*EI*, XXIII, p. 135
21.	Udaipur stone inscription (second half of no. 17)	Udayāditya	(?) preceed by . . . . peeled off		*Annual Report Archaeological Department* 1925-26, p. 13
22.	Un stone inscription	Udayāditya	undated		*ASI*, 1918-19, p. 17; *EI*, XXXI, p. 30
23.	Dhāra stone inscription	Udayāditya	undated		*JBBRAS*, XXI, p. 357; *EI*, XXXI, pp. 29-30
24.	Bhojapur inscription	Naravarman	1157	1100	*Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1959-60*, p. 57; *EI*, XXXV, p. 186

S. no.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
25.	Amera stone inscription	Naravarman	1151	1094	*ASI*, 1923-24, p. 135
26.	Nagpur stone inscription	Naravarman	1161	1104	*EI*, II, p. 180
27.	Madhukargarh stone inscription	Naravarman	1164	1107	Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society I, p. 28.
28.	Kadambapadraka CP inscription	Naravarman	1167	1110	*EI*, XX, p. 105
29.	Bhilsa stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		*PRAS, WC*, 1928-29 p. 54 (unpublished)
30.	Dhāra stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		*EI*, XXXI, pp. 29-30
31.	Avanti stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		Published by S.N. Vyas
32.	Bījamandir Bhilsa stone inscription	Naravarman	undated		*PRAS, WC*, 1913-14, p. 59 (unpublished)
33.	Jhālrāpātan stone inscription	Naravarman and Yaśovarman	1199	1142	*PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 56 (unpublished)
34.	A CP grant	Yaśovarman	1191	1134	*IA*, XIX, p. 351
35.	A CP grant	Yaśovarman	1192	1135	*IA*, XIX, p. 348
36.	A CP grant	Jayavarman I	undated		*IA*, XIX, p. 350
37.	A CP grant	*Mk* Lakṣmīvarman	1200	1143	*IA*, XIX, p. 351
38.	Gyaraspur CP inscription	*Mk* Trailokyavarman	undated		*EI*, XXXIII, p. 93
39.	Bhopal CP grant	*Mk* Hariśchandra	1214	1157	*EI*, XXIV, p. 225

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S. no.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
40.	Piplianagar CP grant	*Mk* Hariśchandra	1235	1178	*JASB*, VII, p. 735
41.	Bhopal inscription	Udayāditya (?)	1241	1184	*JAOS*, VII, p. 35
42.	Bhopal inscription	Udayāditya (?)	Ś. 1108	1186	*JAOS*, VII, p. 35
43.	Bhopal CP grant	*Mk* Udayavarman	1256	1199	*IA*, XVI, p. 252
44.	Piplianagar CP grant	Arjunavarman	1267	1210	*JASB*, V, p. 378
45.	Bhopal CP grant	Arjunavarman	1270	1213	*JAOS*, VII, p. 32
46.	Bhopal CP grant	Arjunavarman	1272	1215	*JAOS*, VII, p. 25
47.	Dhāra *Praśasti*	Arjunavarman	...		*EI*, VIII, p. 96
48.	Harsauḍa stone inscription	Devapāla	1275	1218	*IA*, XX, p. 370
49.	Māndhātā CP grant	Devapāla	1282	1225	*EI*, IX, p. 103
50.	Udayapur stone inscription	Devapāla	1286	1229	*IA*, XX, p. 83
51.	Udayapur stone inscription	Devapāla	128 (9?)	123 (2?)	*IA*, XX, p. 83
52.	Rāhatgarh stone inscription	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1312	1255	*IA*, XX, p. 84 : *ASR*, (Cunn.), X, p. 31
53.	Moḍī stone inscription	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1314	1257	*PRAS, WC*, 1912-13, p. 56
54.	Atru stone inscription	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1314	1257	*ARIE*, 1950-51, App. B., No. 124 ; *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, No. 2111

S. No.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
55.	Māndhātā CP grant	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1317	1260	*EI*, IX, p. 117
56.	Bhilsa stone inscription	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1320	1263	*EI*, XXXV, p. 187
57.	Paṭhārī stone inscription	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1326	1269	*EI*, V, App. No. 232
58.	Māndhātā CP grant	Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman II	1331	1274	*EI*, XXXII, p. 140
59.	Udayapur stone inscription	Jayasiṁha (III)	1366	1310	*IA*, XX, p. 84
60.	Jainād stone inscription	Jagaddeva	undated		*EI*, XXII, p. 54
61.	Doṅgargarh stone inscription	Jagaddeva	Ś. 1034	1112	*EI*, XXVI, p. 177

(b) PARAMĀRAS OF ABU AND KIRĀḌU-BHINMAL

62.	Varkanā stone inscription	Kṛṣṇarāja I	1024	967	*ASI*, 1935-36, p. 122
63.	A CP grant of the Paramāra kings of Abu	...	undated		*EI*, XXXII, p. 136
64.	Ropi CP inscription	Devarāja	1059	1002	*EI*, XXII, p. 196
65.	Vasantgarh stone inscription	Pūrṇapāla	1099	1042	*EI*, IX, p. 12

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S. no.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
66.	Varman inscription	Pūrṇapāla	1099	1042	*PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, p. 72
67.	The Bhāḍund stone inscription	Pūrṇapāla	1102	1045	*JBBRAS*, XXIII, p. 78
68.	Bhinmāl stone inscription	Kṛṣṇarāja (II)	1117	1060	*BG*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 472
69.	Bhinmāl stone inscription	Kṛṣṇarāja (II)	1123	1066	*BG*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 474
70.	Ajārī stone inscription	Yaśodhavala	1202	1145	*IA*, LVI, p. 12
71.	Achaleśvara temple Mt. Abu stone inscription	Yaśodhavala	1207	1150	*EI*, IX, p. 149
72.	Kayādrān stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1220	1163	*IA*, LVI, p. 51
73.	The Piṇḍwārā stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1233	1176	*SRKI*, p. 26 (unpublished and fragmentary)
74.	The Hāthal stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1237	1180	*IA*, XLIII, p. 193
75.	Ajārī stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1240	1183	*Pārthaparākrama*, App. II
76.	The Madhusūdana stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1245	1188	*ASI*, 1906-07, p. 209 ; *ASI*, 1936-37, p. 122
77.	Ajārī stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1247	1190	*SRKI*, p. 28
78.	The Bāmanvārjī stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1249	1192	*SRKI*, p. 27 ; *PRAS, WC.*, 1916-17, p. 56 (fragmentary and unpublished)
79.	The Jhāḍolī stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1255	1198	*PRAS, WC.*, 1905-06, p. 48 (fragmentary and unpublished)

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S. no.	Name of the Paramāra king		Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
80.	The Mt. Abu stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1265	1208	*IA*, XI, p. 221
81.	Roheda stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1271	1214	*IA*, LVI, p. 51
82.	Kantala inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1274	1217	*SRKI*, p. 27
83.	The Makawal stone inscription	Dhārāvarṣa	1276	1219	*SRKI*, pp. 33-34
84.	The Sirohī stone inscription	Raṇasiṁha	1223	1166	*PRAS, WC.*, 1910-11, p. 39
85.	Jaina inscriptions at the temple of Nemihatha on Mt. Abu	Somasiṁha	1287	1230	*EI*, VIII, pp. 208-22
86.	The Nana stone inscription	Somasiṁha	1290	1233	*D.G's Annual*, 1907-08, p. 226 (unpublished)
87.	Devakhetra stone inscription	Somasiṁha	1293	1236	*ARRM*, 1910-11, p. 7
88.	The Paṭanārāyaṇa stone inscription	Pratāpasiṁha	1344	1287	*IA*, XLV, p. 78
89.	Dhandhpur inscription	Árjuna (?)	1347	1290	*PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, p. 69
90.	The Varman stone inscription	Vikramāsiṁha	1356	1300	*PRAS, WC*, 1916-17, p. 72
91.	Kirāḍu stone inscription	Someśvara	1198, 1218	1141, 1161	*IA*, LXI, p. 135
	(c) PARAMĀRAS OF JALOR				
92.	The Jalor stone inscription	Vīśāla	1166	1109	*IHQ*, 1961, p. 161
93.	The Jalor stone inscription	Vīśala	1174	1117	*IA*, LXII, p. 42

S. no.	Name of the Paramāra king	Year V.S.	Year A.D.	Reference
	(d) THE PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA			
94.	The Panhera stone inscription	Maṇḍalīka	1116	1059	*EI*, XXI, p. 42
95.	The Arthuna stone inscription	Chāmuṇḍarāja	1136	1079	*EI*, XIV, p. 295
96.	The Arthuna stone inscription	Chāmuṇḍarāja	1137	1080	*PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 35
97.	The Arthuna stone inscription	Chāmuṇḍarāja	1157	1100	*ARRM*, 1914-15, p. 2 (unpublished)
98.	The Arthuna stone inscription	Vijayarāja	1165	1108	*ARRM*, 1917-18, p. 2
99.	The Arthuna stone inscription	Vijayarāja	1166	1109	*PRAS, WC*, 1908-09, p. 49 ; *EI*, XXI, p. 50
	MISCELLANEOUS			
100.	A Fragmentary stone inscription from Mandu			...	*ABORI*, XI, p. 49
101.	Eulogy of the Sun-god composed by Chhittapa			...	*EI*, XXX, pp. 215-19
102.	An unpublished inscription of the Paramāras		1214	1157	*PO*, IV, p. 22
103.	A Sanskrit hymn to goddess Sarasvatī			...	*ABORI*, VIII, p. 142
104.	Prince of Wales Museum stone inscription of Dhāra			...	*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, XVII (1957), p. 130
105.	V.S. 1331 Kā Ek Dānpatra			...	*Nāg. Pra. Pat.*, No. 44 (Navīn Sanskaraṇ, No. 20) 1939, p. 283

S. no.			Reference
106.	Victoria Hall Udaipur inscription of the Rulers of Malwa	...	*ASI*, 1936-37, p. 124
107.	Dhār-Se-Prāpt ek-Śilā-lekha	...	*Nāg. Pra. Pat.*, No. 55, p. 305
108.	Mahākāleśvara Temple inscription	...	*EI*, XXXI, p. 27
109.	Indore Museum Fragmentary inscription. It mentions Harṣa who may be Paramāra Harṣa.	...	*ARIE*, 1950-51, App. B., No. 125 (unpublished)
110.	Fragmentary eulogy of the Paramāra kings. Names like Paramāra Vairisiṁha, Sīyaka, Vākpati and Sindhurāja can be traced.	...	*ARIE*, 1950-51, App. B., No. 126 (unpublished)
111.	Bhavnagar fragmentary inscription, in characters of 12th century, refers to king Harirāja Paramāra. It is difficult to say whether king Harirāja belonged to the Paramāra ruling family since there is no ruler of this name among the Paramāra kings.	...	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1960-61, p. 44
112.	Udayapur fragmentary inscription of Harirāja dated V.S. 1360=1303 A.D.	...	*IA*, XX, p. 84
113.	The Somanātha Temple inscription from Shergarh, with dates 1017, 1018 and 1028 A.D.	...	*EI*, XXIII, p. 137
114.	The Girwar stone inscription of V.S. 1181=1124 A.D.	...	*PI HC*, 1961, p. 62
115.	A Jaina inscription dated V.S. 1191=1134 A.D. from Shergarh ..		*EI*, XXXI, p. 81
116.	Two Prākrit poems at Dhārā	...	*EI*, VIII, p. 243

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S. no.			Reference
117.	Two inscriptions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī from Sirohi, dated V.S. 1231=1174 A.D. and V.S. 1232=1175 A.D.	...	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1960-61, p. 49
118.	A stone inscription from Udayapur of Udayāditya, the son of Gyāta	...	*JASB*, IX (1840), p. 546

APPENDIX IX

RELEVANT INSCRIPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES

(a) RĀṢṬRAKŪṬA

1.	Daśāvatāra Cave Temple inscription of Dantidurga	...	*ASWI*, V, p. 87
2.	Ellora Plates of Dantidurga, Ś. (?) 663	...	*EI*, XXV, p. 25
3.	Samangaḍh Plates of Dantidurga, dated Ś.676=A.D. 753-4	...	*IA*, XI, p. 108
4.	Dhulia Plates of Karkarāja, Ś. 701=779 A.D.	...	*EI*, VIII, p. 182
5.	Two Bhor State Museum Copper Plates of Dhārāvarṣa-Dhruvarāja, Ś. 702=780 A.D.	...	*EI*, XXII, p. 184
6.	Kāpaḍvanj inscription of Kṛṣṇa II	...	*EI*, I, p. 52
7.	Rādhanpur Plates of Govinda III, Ś. 730=808 A.D.	...	*EI*, VI, p. 239
8.	Nesarikā grant of Govinda III, Ś. 727—805 A.D.	...	*EI*, XXXIV, p. 125
9.	Wani Dindorī grant of Govinda III.	...	*IA*, XI, p. 156

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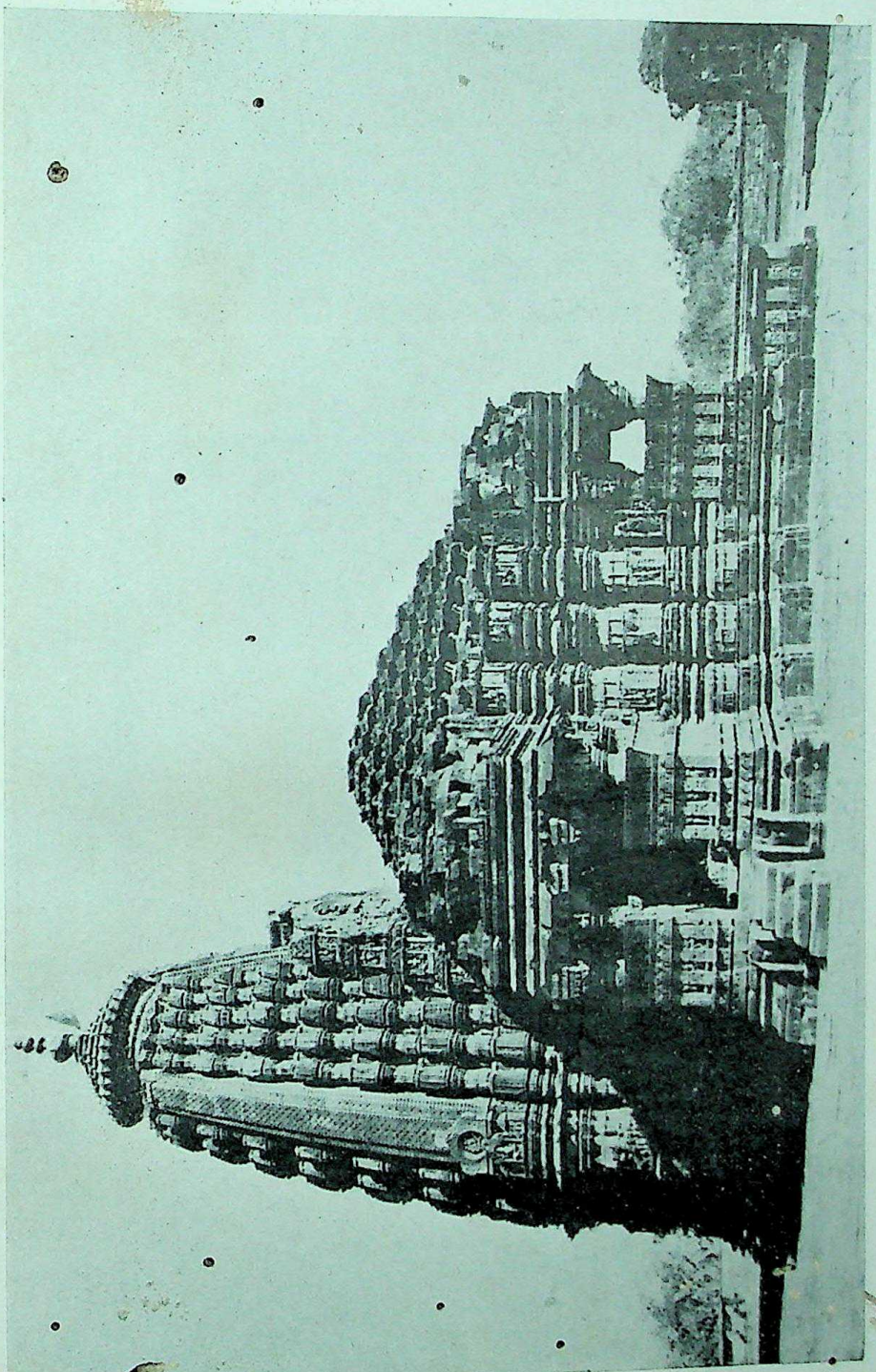

Fig. 1. A general view of Udayeśvara temple, Udaipur.

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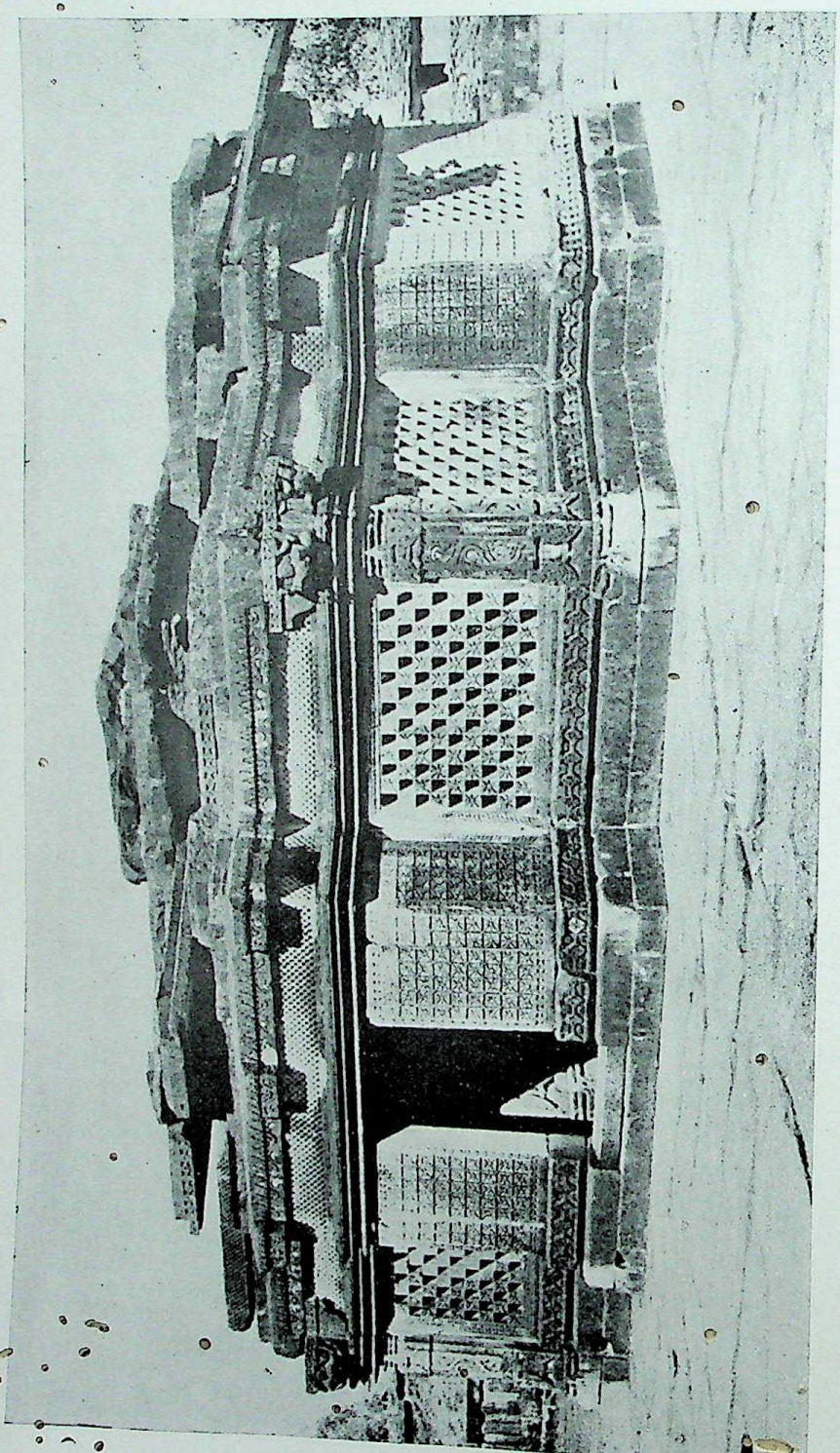

Fig. 2. One of the small attendant shrines to the east of Udayeśvara temple, Udaipur.

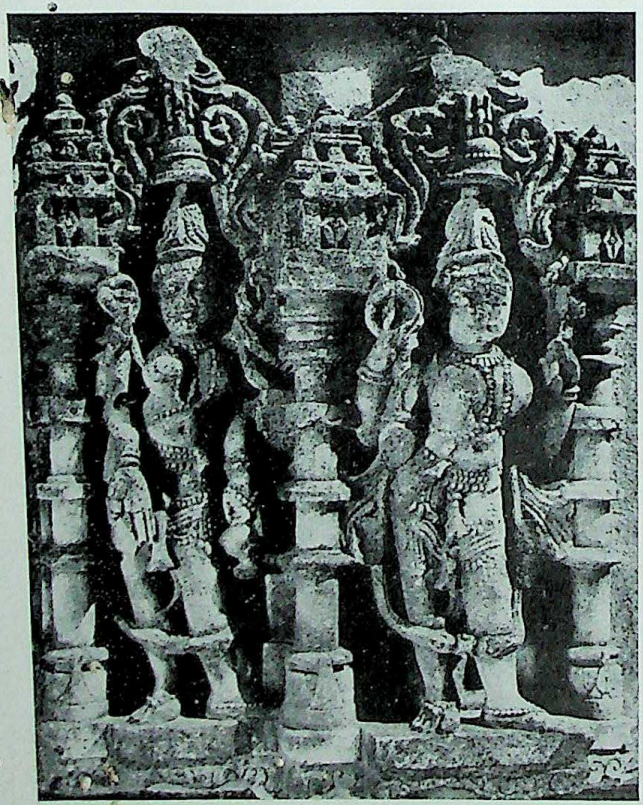

Fig. 3. Female figures on the exterior of Udayeśvara temple, Udaipur.

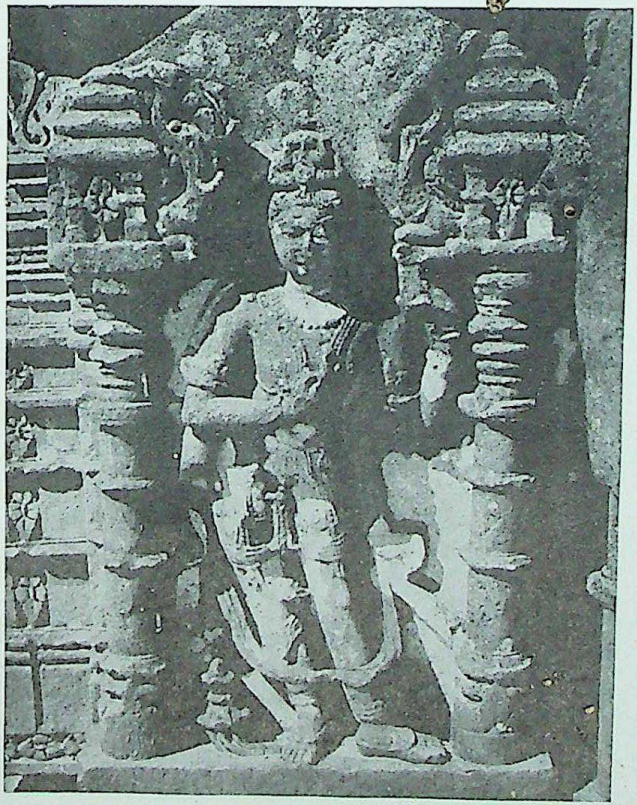

Fig. 4. A male figure on Udayeśvara temple, Udaipur.

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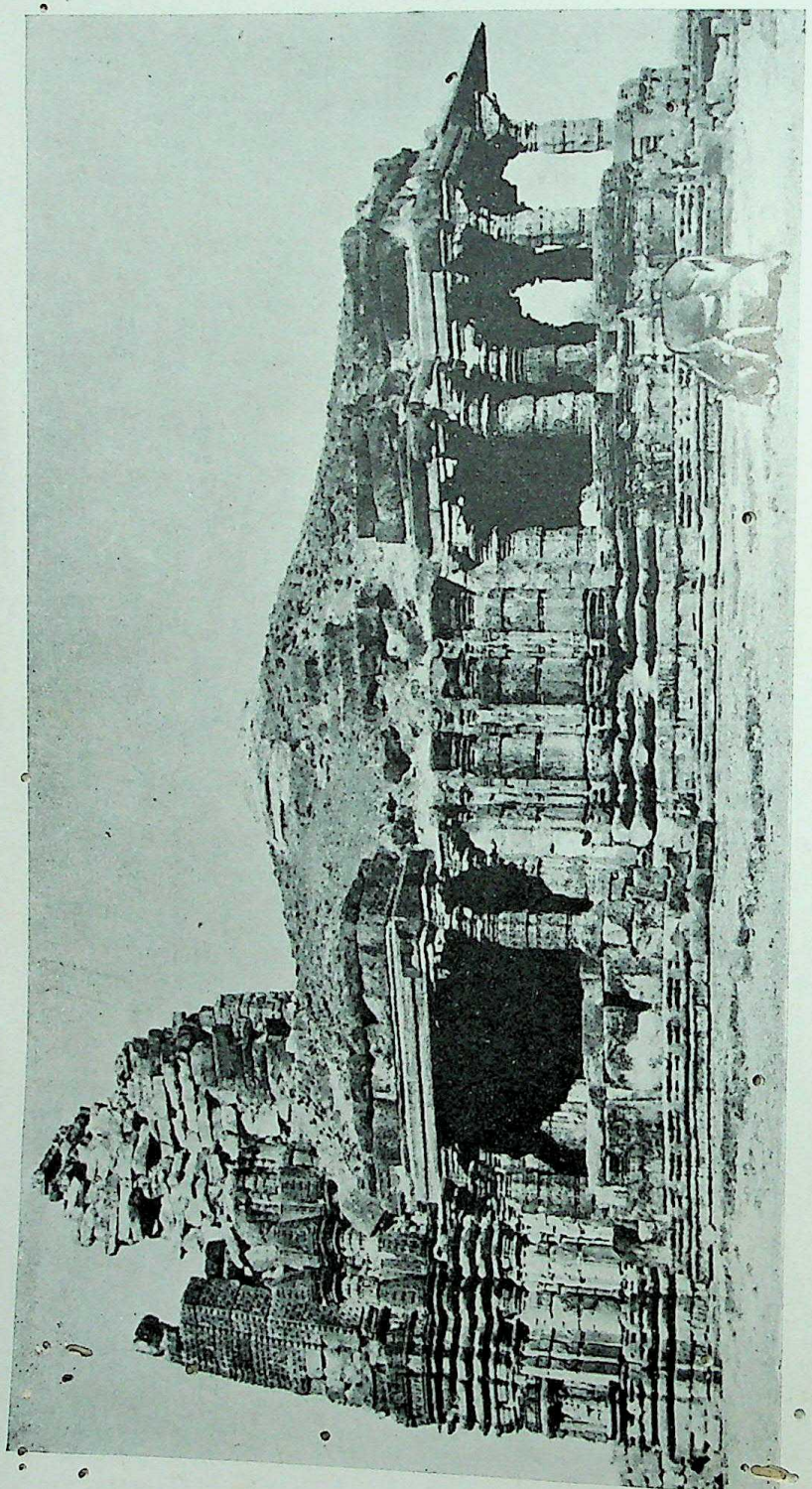

Fig. 5. A general view of Chaubaradera temple, Un.

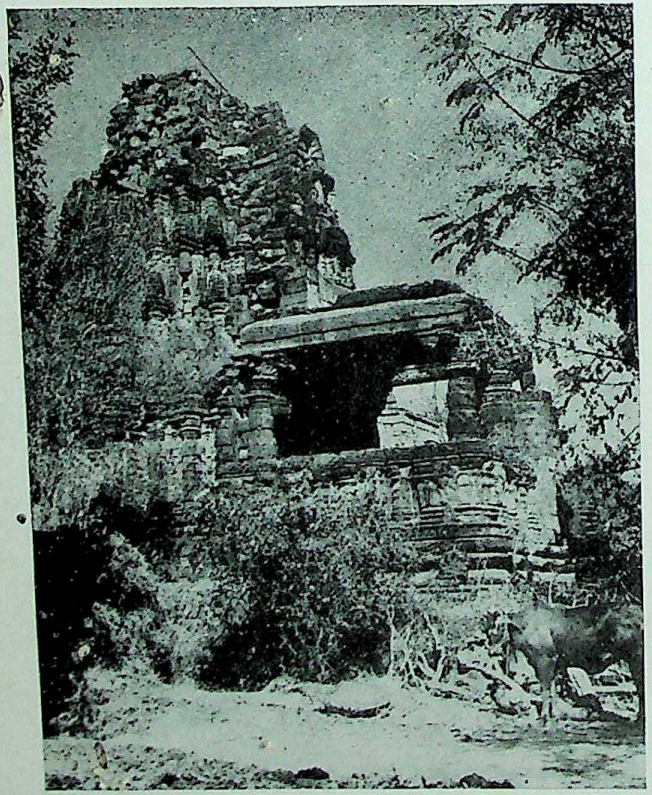

Fig. 6. Mahākāleśvara temple, Un.

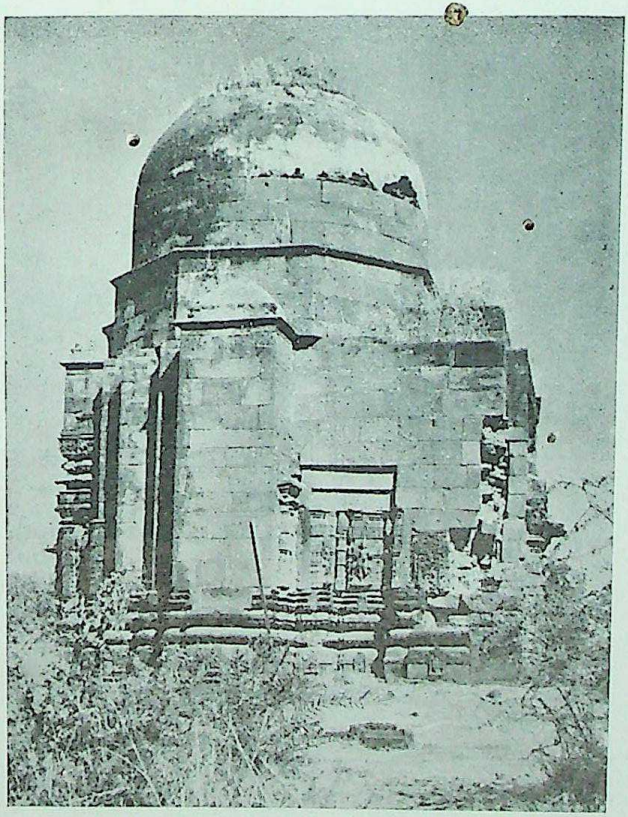

Fig. 7. Ballāleśvara temple, Un.

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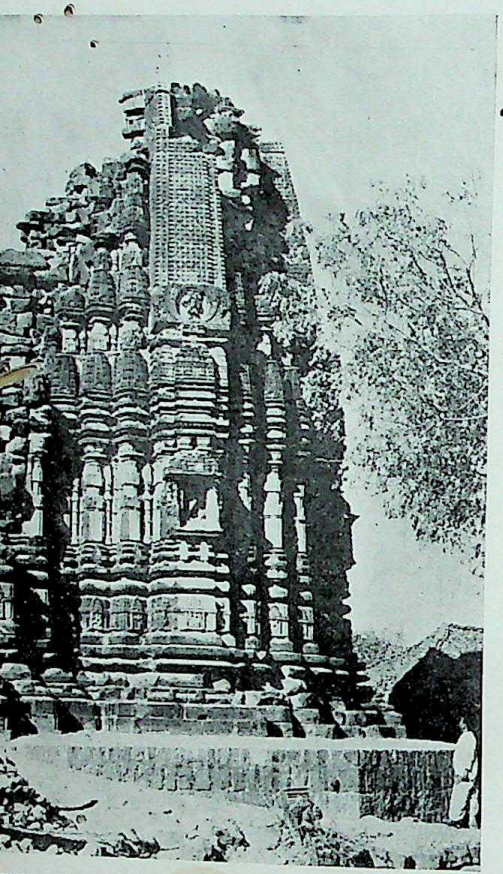

Fig. 8. Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple, Un.

Fig. 9. Chaubāradera temple No. II (a Jaina shrine), *Un.*

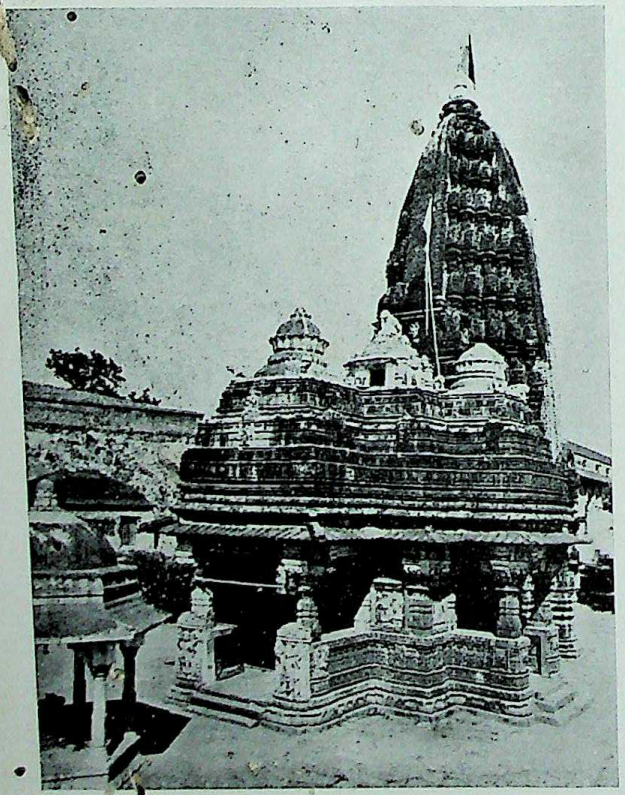

Fig. 10. A general view from south-west of Siddheśvara temple, Nimar.

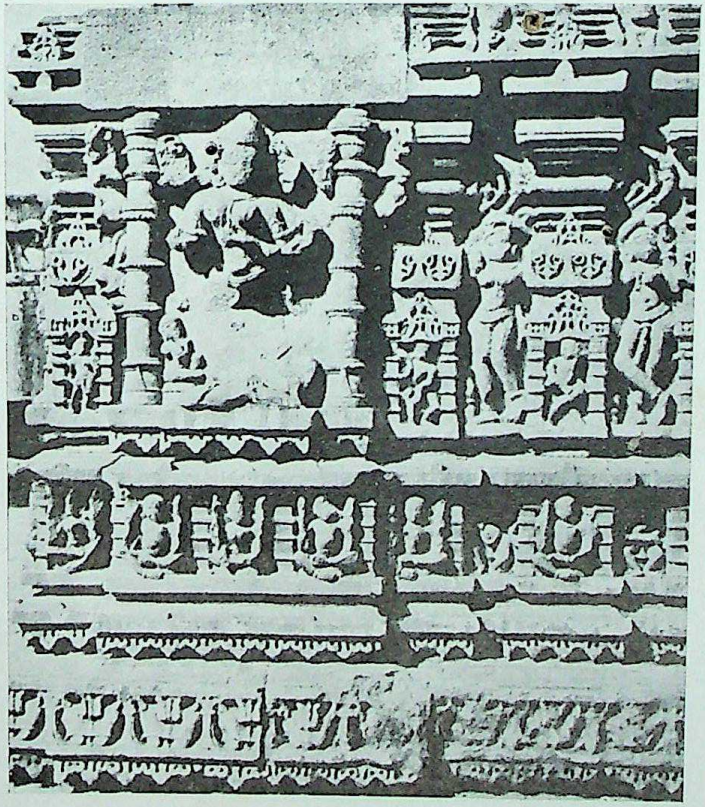

Fig. 11. Details of sculptures on the sabhāmaṇḍapa of Siddheśvara temple, Nimar.

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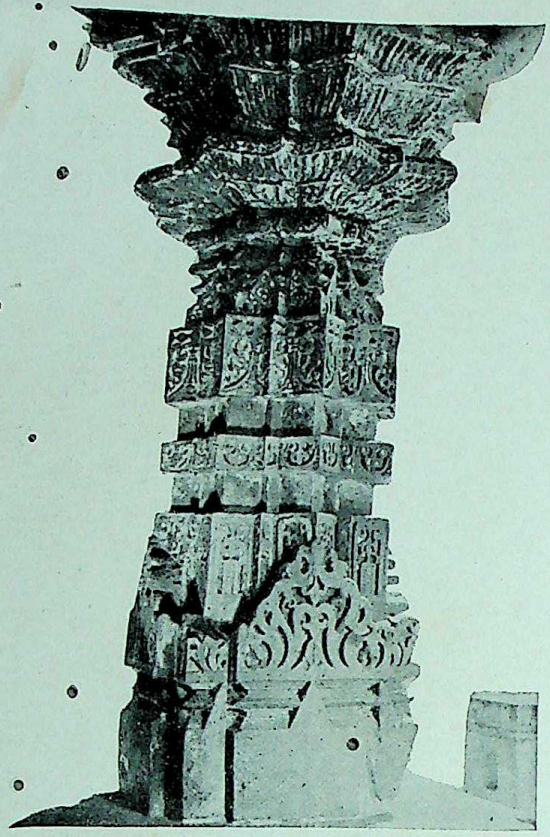

Fig. 12. A carved pillar on the sabhāmaṇḍapa of Siddheśvara temple, Nimar.

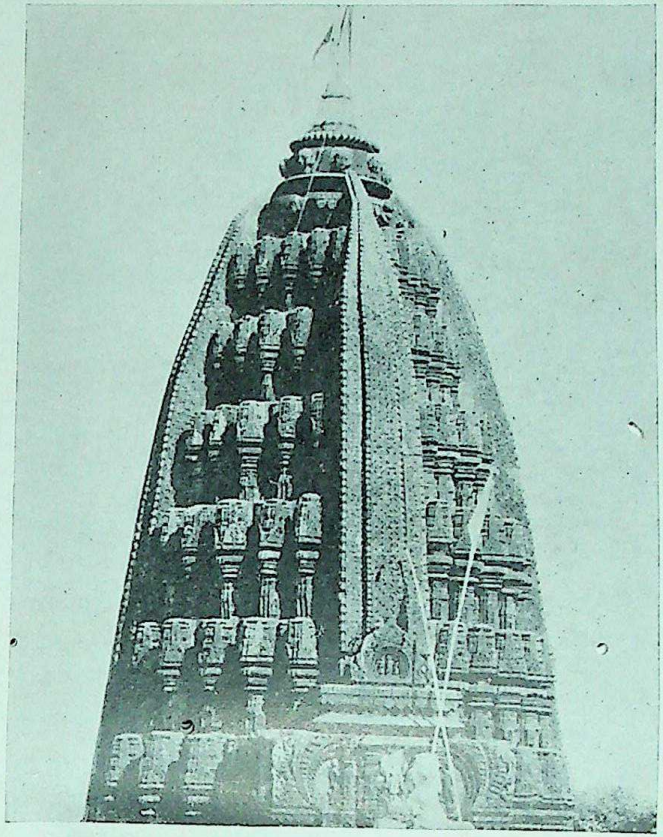

Fig. 13. Śikhara of Siddheśvara temple, Nimar.

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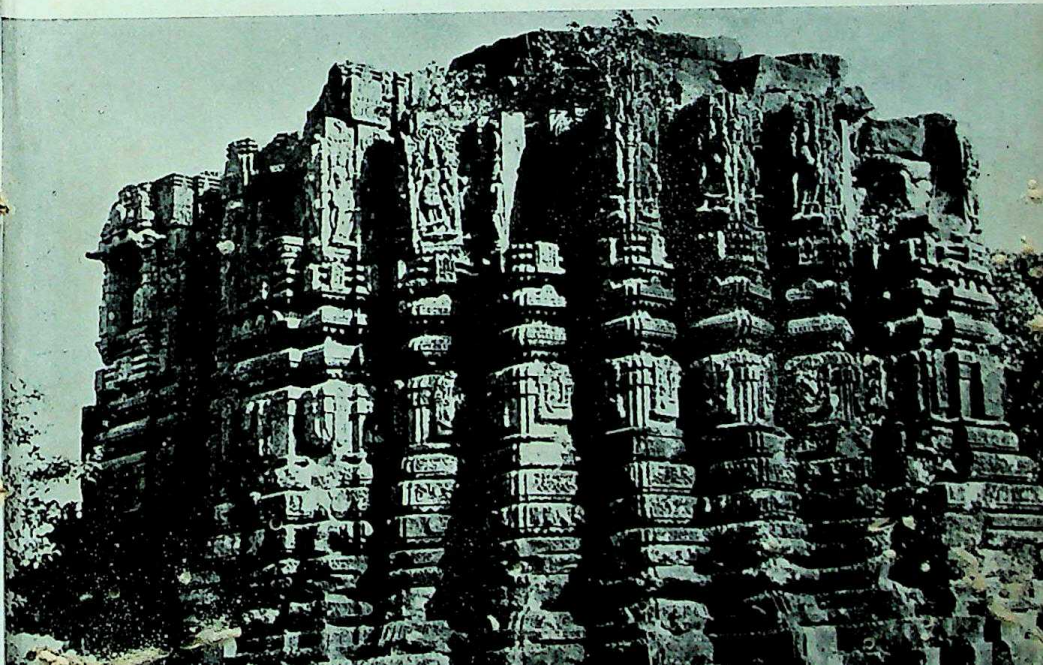
Fig. 14. Śikhara of Udayeśvara temple, Udaipur.

Fig. 15. A view from north-west of a unfinished temple, Nimar



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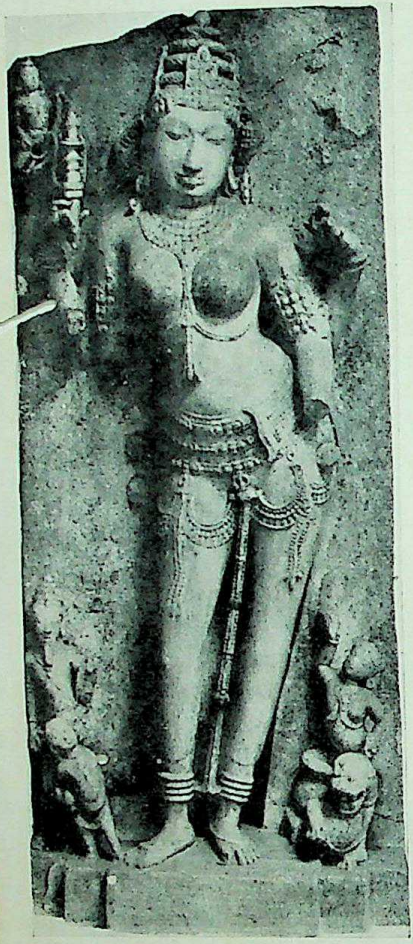

Fig. 16. Sarasvatī, British Museum, London.

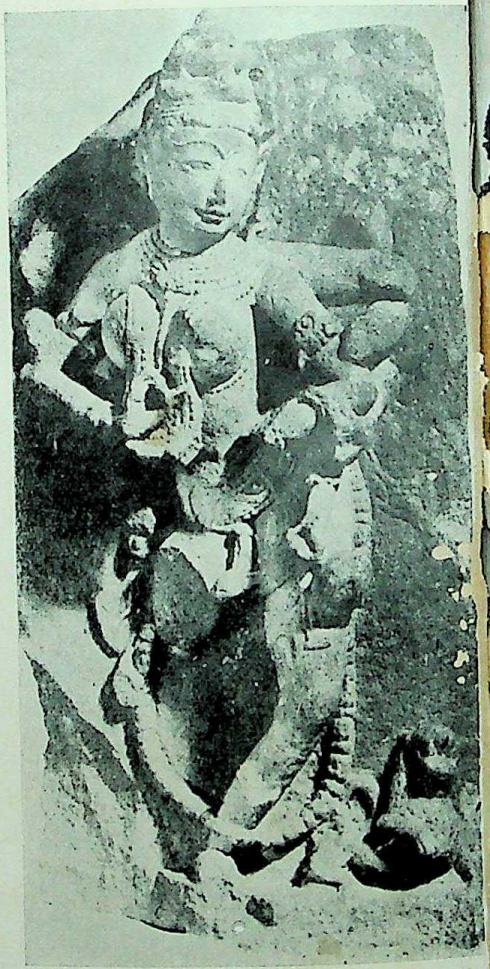

Fig. 17. Durgā, National Museum, New Delhi.

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(*r.*=*river*, *k.*=*king*)

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